LABOR IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTH

ABRAHAM BERGLUND
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Sincerely,

Abraham Berglund

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LABOR IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTH

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LABOR IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTH

A SURVEY OF WAGES AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN THREE MAJOR INDUSTRIES OF THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SOUTH

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PREFACE

Labor and labor conditions can be studied from many angles and with several ends in view. What is commonly called the labor problem is not so much one problem as a complex of many problems more or less related to one another. The question of wages and the influences determining wage rates, the hours of labor, factory conditions, seasonal and trade influences making for unemployment, trade union policies, attitude of employers toward labor organization, and several other phases which might be mentioned as constituting parts of the general problem of labor, make any all-rounded study of this subject a highly complicated one.

The present monograph is a study of labor conditions in the new industrial South. No attempt has been made to investigate agricultural labor or indeed any labor outside of the rapidly developing manufacturing industries which are changing many old social and economic practices. In view of the short time allowed for this study (two years) and the fact that much field work has been required for the gathering of statistical and other data, it has been necessary to select certain industries which fairly typify new developments. In this selection both the number of workers employed and the technique used have played a part. In other words, it was the purpose of the authors to select industries employing a large enough number of men to have their wage rates determined by the general economic situation in which the South finds itself today rather than by purely local influences or influences peculiar to a single industry. It has also been the object of the authors to select industries calling for varying degrees of skill.

After considerable study of the relative importance of southern industries, it was decided that the furniture industry, the lumber industry, and the cotton industry were fairly typical of southern industrial development. For that reason those industries have been selected for this study.

In view of the vast number of manufacturing establishments in these typical industries, it was, of course, impossible to visit all or gather data from all. A sufficient number, however, was visited so that the condition described can be said to fairly represent those for the industries selected. When local influences operated to vary the conditions in any given branch of manufactures, mills or factories, showing these variations, were studied. Thus in cotton manufacture, large and small, good and so-called "bad" mills were visited and conditions in both isolated mill villages and mill villages located within large towns were studied.

A further limitation in the present study may also be indicated. In view of the small amount of money available for field study no attempt has been made to investigate such matters as the progress or status of trade-unionism in the South, state labor legislation, the work of women and children in mills and factories, workmen's compensation laws and the like. The present volume is confined to the subject of present labor conditions in the industrial South as shown by prevailing wage rates, hours of labor, general cost of living, and the welfare work or other measures employed to supplement the payments made laborers.

The authors have endeavored to present the conditions as they have found them without any bias. There has been no attempt to present the viewpoint of any group or class—employers or workmen. Neither has there been any disposition to praise or condemn. The object of the work has been twofold: first, the presentation of general wage conditions as shown by the books of employing concerns, Federal wage statistics, retail prices of food and other necessaries, and the services rendered by employing concerns in offering other aids to their employees in the forms commonly designated as welfare work; and second, some explanation of these conditions as they result from a new and rapid industrial growth in an environment characterized by traditions associated with a certain kind of agricultural development.

The authors wish to acknowledge cooperation and assistance given by dozens of executives, both senior and junior, of the industrial plants visited throughout the North and South. At every establishment visited we were accorded the greatest degree of courtesy even when that courtesy covered, as it did in a few cases only, a flat refusal of any information of any kind.

The authors are particularly indebted to Professors Charles N. Hulvey and Hugh N. Fuller of the University of Virginia for their invaluable aid in the computation of the statistical data, though they are in no way responsible for any errors which may occur. Helpful suggestions have also been made by Miss Helen L. Harrell, Executive Secretary of the Institute.

We also wish to express our thanks to the various branches of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for much valuable information. To the fellow members of the staff, both research and office, of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, for valuable ideas and help in many ways in the preparation of this study we also owe our gratitude.

Abraham Berglund
George T. Starnes
Frank T. de Vyver

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CHAPTER I

The South in an Industrial Revolution

THE study of labor and labor conditions as they now exist in the South involves some examination of present-day industrial trends. A new South is in a process of development which in several respects is not only characterized by new industrial activities and interests, but activities and interests which run counter to culture which is the result of some centuries of growth. Broadly speaking, southern civilization in the period before the Civil War and extending back well into Colonial times was in large measure based upon what may be called a plantation economy. In other words, the principal industrial influence which shaped political thought and social life was agricultural in character with producing units large in size, operated under a system of forced labor, and with an output highly specialized in nature. This background with present-day industrial changes has given the labor situation of the southern states its uniqueness.

While the plantation of *ante bellum* days was an influential unit from a political and social standpoint, the small farm was also a conspicuous feature of southern industrial life, especially in the Piedmont region of the Atlantic Coast and in certain hilly sections of other parts of the South. The plantations covered a considerable area; but the number of small farms was several times that of the plantations, even when the plantation system was at its height. Some writers have contended that at no time did the number of large plantations exceed one-tenth the total number of farms in the South. Whatever may have been its numerical proportion, the plantation was the farming unit that produced most of the tobacco and raw cotton which was exported from the country, that gave the South its commercial prominence, and that determined its general political attitude.

The Civil War destroyed the plantation. The large agricultural unit operated by forced labor was broken up into relatively small farms owned or rented by their cultivators who were personally free. In many instances former slaves became small-scale farmers. The specialized agriculture which characterized the *ante bellum* days, however, continued. The old cotton plantation still produced raw cotton, but in smaller units. The day of diversified farming was still in the future.

From 1865 to 1880 no indications pointed to any considerable de-

velopment of manufactures. Craftsmanship serving various local needs existed throughout the South as it did in the period before the Civil War. Some experiments were tried with factory methods, as indeed they had been before the War Between the States. Craftsmanship of a high order had existed under the plantation system and survived for a time the collapse of that system. Factories had also been built, which, so far as equipment is concerned, were comparable with the best that had been thus far constructed in the North. Commercially speaking, however, manufactures were not a conspicuous or even a notable feature of southern industrial development. The factories that were organized were failures, and craftsmanship was simply a plantation adjunct or *neighborhood industry*.

About 1880 certain parts of the South began to show a distinct tendency toward what may be called an industrial civilization. Not that this development was transforming any considerable section of this region from an agricultural to a manufacturing society, but that side by side with farming activities there were growing up industrial interests based upon the output and sale of commodities produced under a strictly capitalistic system. This growth did indeed, in the decades following 1880, change the percentages of those engaged in agricultural, professional, commercial and manufacturing occupations. It has also made the value of manufactured products a much larger proportion of the total value of all industrial products in the South.

It is this rapid development of manufactures in an environment permeated with the traditions of a long-standing and large-scale system of agriculture that gives the labor situation of the South its uniqueness. The significance of this situation cannot be appreciated without some consideration of this development and a few of its principal features. In order to make a proper study of this growth it will be necessary to discuss the meaning of what is called industrialization, some of the leading aspects of this development in the South, important changes in occupational distribution, and the magnitude of manufacturing industries as a whole and in their leading branches. The meaning of this industrial growth with respect to labor conditions and past traditions will then be briefly touched upon and the reasons given for the selections made of occupations for wage rates typical of the new industrial South.

What is called industrialization means the growth of those economic activities having to do with the transformation of raw materials into manufactured products. Extractive operations, whether of

agriculture or mining, are, strictly speaking, excluded from this concept. Such operations furnish the raw materials utilized by an industrial civilization, but that civilization is based upon activities devoted to the fashioning or fabrication of such materials into forms suitable for consumption. Generically speaking, industrialization is a term almost synonymous with manufacturing development—particularly a highly specialized manufacturing development.

In popular usage, however, mining and transportation, especially railroad transportation, would constitute industrial operations as well as manufacturing. Even some branches of purely commercial activity would come within the scope of what is popularly understood as industrial. In such forms of economic service there is under present-day conditions an advanced capitalistic development. The owners of the industries concerned are interested primarily in making profits. Labor is sharply differentiated from ownership of the instruments of production, and generally from the purely profit-making interests. While it is true that the farmer is also interested in profit, the typical American farm has been a source of livelihood as well as of business gains. The cultivator or worker, too, has been in a large proportion of instances an owner or prospective owner of the agricultural unit he operated, and hence both a laborer and capitalist. As used in this book the term industrialization will be employed primarily in its generic sense, but not without some reference to other capitalistic developments.

The growing industrialization of the South, which as we have seen began about 1880, is part of a general movement which has been transforming the United States from an agricultural country in the main into the world's leading manufacturing nation. With extensive areas of fertile land agriculture still remains an important and even dominant form of production. However, a distinguishing feature of our economic development has been a remarkable and relatively rapid growth in the output and value of manufactured products. The use of machinery, frequent improvements in machine technique, and equally noteworthy developments in business organization have been the prime factors in this remarkable transformation. Our history during the past century may be said to have been in great measure a record of progressive industrialization.

The industrialization of the South, as has been observed, began later than it did in the North and certain parts of the West. Environmental conditions in the former region were also different from

those prevailing in the latter sections of the country. In the North, particularly in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, the factory system in the production of cottons and woolens had become well established by the middle of the nineteenth century and was spreading to other industries. Before the Civil War manufacturing in some branches was showing a tendency toward large-scale operations, serving a general or national market rather than several local ones. In the South, on the other hand, barring certain isolated experiments, no movement was made in the direction of factory production. What manufacturing was done up to 1875 or 1880—and from a local standpoint this was not negligible—was virtually in the handicraft or domestic stages of development. It was mainly a neighborhood affair serving plantation or local needs. While the craftsmanship displayed was often of a high order,[1] the output from a commercial standpoint was inconsequential. Compared with the great volume of certain staple agricultural products this output had little economic significance.

The new factory system which was developing in the South at the close of the nineteenth century was in outward form characterized by the features that had appeared earlier in the North. A large proportion of the new industries were incorporated. Stress was laid on low costs, and with this emphasis came a disposition to resort as far as possible to so-called "cheap labor." In the North this "cheap labor" was secured largely through immigration; in the South, it was obtained from native whites and, for some kinds of labor, from the large Negro population. In the latter region, as we shall see in the next chapter, the social conditions which had prevailed under the old plantation system furnished a source or rather several sources for an abundant labor supply.

The existence of this large supply of cheap labor was unquestionably a factor in the movement of several manufacturing industries from the North to the South. The increasing strength of trade union organization also favored this migration. There is reason, however, to believe that the importance of the labor factor has been unduly exaggerated. Certain natural resources of the South which were becoming well known before the close of the nineteenth century were also a powerful influence. In such industries as lumbering, the

1. Negro craftsmanship attained a high state of development under the plantation system. Free Negroes were also expert craftsmen in many instances. See R. B. Pinchbeck: *The Virginia Negro Artisan and Tradesman.*

manufacture of cotton-seed oil, the refining of petroleum, the production of iron and steel, and even the manufacture of cotton cloth, the advantages of nearness to the sources of raw materials and of cheap electric power are great—in some instances crucial. And in raw material resources the South is rich.

This new manufacturing system therefore has been based, at least in large part, upon the natural resources of the South as well as upon its so-called "cheap labor;" and probably more upon the former than upon the latter. It has also been characterized by considerable diversification—a feature which distinguishes it from the kind of agriculture which has furnished the bulk of the South's commercial crops.[2] Until very recently much of the farming area of this region of the country was given over to single crops. Unfavorable market conditions for raw cotton affected not only a limited number of producers engaged in this branch of production but extensive areas and a multitude of dependent commercial concerns. Raw cotton, tobacco, and a few other lesser products constituted the agricultural staples. The recently developed manufacturing industries, however, are characterized by a highly diversified output. No few products constitute the "staples" of this industrial development. A depression in one branch does not necessarily mean an industrial setback to all lines of manufacture or to any extensive area of this region of the country.

With respect to occupational changes the decade from 1880 to 1890 first showed a tendency in the South for the number of persons employed in manufactures and in trade and transportation to gain at the expense of those employed in agriculture. Migration from rural to manufacturing centers—at first slow but gradually increasing—was beginning to be a feature of the occupational redistribution of the people of the southern states, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. In order to indicate the extent of this movement the following table gives the number of persons gainfully employed in the principal occupation groups as shown in the Census years from 1890 to 1920, inclusive, for the eleven states which formed the Confederacy of 1861 to 1865.

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2. While this diversification has been marked for the South *as a whole* there are large areas characterized by the dominance of one or two industries. This has made it difficult for laborers to change from one occupation to another in order to better their condition without moving a considerable distance from home.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN GAINFUL PURSUITS IN LEADING OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES WITH PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL GAINFULLY EMPLOYED[a]

Census year	Agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry	Manufactures and mechanical industries	Transportation and trade	Professional service	Domestic and personal service
1890	3,465,638[b]	475,019	430,961	150,698	837,864
Per cent	64.6	8.8	8.0	2.8	15.6
1900	4,470,086	738,244	609,690	192,442	1,196,080
Per cent	62.0	10.2	8.4	2.6	16.5
1910	5,933,299	1,295,928	939,409	252,206	849,603
Per cent	61.8	13.5	9.7	2.6	8.8
1920	4,842,144	1,659,039	1,198,516	330,299	779,816
Per cent	51.4	17.6	12.6	3.5	8.2

a. From U. S. Census for the year tabulated. Other occupational groups like clerical services, the public service, and quarrying and mining, are represented by such small percentages of the total number gainfully employed that they are omitted in the tabulation. The eleven southern states for which the figures are given are Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Economically these states have been more distinctly southern than have the so-called "border states" like Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri.

b. Mining and quarrying are included in this group for 1890. They add, however, less than one per cent to this total.

From the figures tabulated it is seen that in 1890 in our eleven states which formed the Confederacy of 1861 to 1865, 64.6 per cent of the persons gainfully employed were engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, and forestry. In 1920 this percentage had been reduced to 51.4, and there had been a decline in the number of persons included in this group of over one million since 1910. On the other hand, during the same thirty years the percentage of those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries had increased from 8.8 to 17.6, or practically doubled. In transportation and trade there was an increase from 8 to 12.6 per cent. In the occupations included under the head of professional there was little change—a slight decline to 1910 and some increase from 1910 to 1920. In domestic and personal service there was a reduction from 15.6 to 8.2 per cent. This last decline is itself a phase of the industrialization of the South. The demand for workers in manufacturing industries and trade was reducing the available supply of cheap domestic service. Like the North, the South is being confronted with a "servant problem."

The rapidity with which this advance in industrialization has taken place during the last four or five decades is perhaps better shown by

taking the figures by decades for the value of manufactured products for the eleven states already referred to and comparing them with those for the country as a whole. In the following table this is done for the decennial Census years from 1880 to 1919 inclusive, and for the last two years, 1925 and 1927, for which the Census has published reports. In this comparison it will of course be remembered that marked changes have taken place in price levels which affect the totals given. But making due allowance for such variations the increase in manufactured output is remarkable. Especially significant is the proportionate production of the South.

TABLE 2

VALUE OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1880-1927 [a]

Year	United States	Eleven southern states	Percentage of southern states
1880	$ 5,369,579,191	$ 275,304,627	5.1
1890	9,372,378,843	576,782,312	6.2
1899	11,406,927,000	818,727,426	7.2
1909	20,672,052,000	1,803,933,015	8.7
1919	61,737,125,332	5,998,565,929	9.7
1925	62,713,713,730	6,427,142,373	10.2
1927	62,718,347,289	6,401,780,877	10.2

a. U. S. Census for the years indicated. Prior to the year 1899, the Census included in its valuations of manufactured products those for household and neighborhood industries. Since that year these latter industries have been omitted.

During the forty-seven years indicated the value of manufactured products for the country as a whole (measured in American money which as has been indicated has fluctuated greatly in purchasing power during the period covered) increased about 1,170 per cent, while that for our eleven states increased over 2,300 per cent, or about twice as rapidly as for the country as a whole. This manufacturing development has been fairly steady, and as has been indicated has shown a marked tendency to spread over a large number of industries. Unlike the production which characterized the plantation era, it has not been typified by a few staple commodities. Industrial plants, as in the North, have been highly specialized, but there is no one or a few products of these plants which can be said to represent the manufactures of this region, as did cotton, tobacco, and rice, the agriculture.

The value of the manufactured output of the eleven southern states considered is only a little over ten per cent that of the country's total. It should be remembered, however, that this percentage constitutes a larger proportion of the country's total than ever before.[3] Furthermore, this percentage is for less than one-fourth the total number of states, for approximately one-fourth its area, and less than one-fourth its population. Proportioned on the basis of number of states, area, and population, the value of manufactured output for the eleven states covered by our discussion would be not far from forty per cent of the country's total.

Considering how recent this movement toward an industrial civilization has been, this proportion is by no means small. If past progress is any indication of what the future is likely to show, this proportion will continue for a considerable time to be a mounting one. Already the center of the country's manufacturing operations has been shifted southwards by this growth, and it is not at all impossible or even improbable that it may be further shifted southwards to the Potomac and Ohio rivers.

In several important lines of manufacture the output of our eleven southern states constitutes a large fraction of the country's total. In 1927 this proportion in the case of lumber and lumber products was about forty per cent; in that of refined petroleum, over twenty-seven per cent—a percentage which would be materially increased if Oklahoma had been added to our group of states; in the case of cotton-seed products, about eighty-four per cent; in that of fertilizers, fifty-five per cent; in that of turpentine and rosin, fifty-three per cent; and in the case of cigars and cigarettes, over forty-six per cent. In certain branches of textile manufacture the progress has been equally conspicuous. The latest Census figures show that over fifty-six per cent of the country's cotton manufacturing is now done in the South. In addition over twelve per cent of the nation's knit goods is made in the eleven states mentioned. During the last few years the newly developed industry of rayon manufacture has established itself in the South with the largest rayon mill in the world in Virginia.

In the following table are shown the branches of manufacture in

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3. During the past two years the percentage has remained practically the same; but over any considerable number of years the manufacturing output of the southern states indicated has constituted an increasing proportion of the country's total.

our eleven states whose aggregate output in 1927 exceeded $100,000,000. The number of establishments and average number of wage earners in each of these branches are also given.

TABLE 3

LEADING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES WITH NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND WAGE EARNERS AND VALUE OF PRODUCT, 1927 [a]

	Number of establishments	Average number of wage earners	Value of product
Cottons	819	276,559	$880,805,268
Petroleum refining	82	19,169	580,476,618
Tobacco—cigars and cigarettes	151	34,124	563,784,310
Lumber and timber products not elsewhere specified	4,085	209,412	501,854,630
Oil, cake and meal, cotton seed	475	18,297	233,050,130
Cars and general shop construction and repairs for steam railroads	318	74,518	208,772,542
Knit goods	277	47,181	142,823,882
Flour and other grain mills	718	4,291	130,833,235
Lumber—planing mill products not made in planing mills connected with sawmills	1,114	24,237	128,717,098
Slaughtering and meat packing	93	5,844	121,450,605
Furniture	340	29,357	109,961,637
Fertilizers	412	11,828	105,415,387

a. Census of Manufactures, 1927. Statistics for Industries and States.

The table (Table 3) presents the leading manufacturing industries for the year 1927 as these industries are classified by the Census Bureau. It is to be noted that the number of wage earners bears little relationship to the aggregate value of output for the several industries tabulated. Thus the production of lumber and other timber products which ranks fourth among the manufacturing branches tabulated, ranks second in the number of employees. The refining of petroleum which stands second in value of product, employs a much smaller number of workers than does furniture manufacture which ranks eleventh on our list. This difference, of course, is explained by the nature of the manufacturing processes involved, the appliances used, and the amount of refining or transformation necessary to convert raw or crude material into finished product. It is worth noting, however, in a study of labor conditions under a comparatively new industrial régime, because such a study involves some selection of the industries which are fairly typical of recent changes. Naturally those branches of manufacture which employ

only a small number of workers compared with the value of their outputs would hardly be representative of the occupations in which labor is an ever-present problem. Furthermore, a study of labor in a region forming a large part of a country like the United States should include a sufficient number of laborers and a selection of occupations which may be regarded as representative.

In the brief survey of industrial progress made in this chapter certain facts are crucial in any interpretation which may be made of the present-day labor situation in the South. First, manufacture has within the short space of forty or fifty years exhibited a remarkable and highly diversified development. Relatively it has been much faster and more revolutionary than in the North. Second, this development has taken place in a region whose traditions have been associated with a highly specialized type of agriculture and for a long period an agriculture representative of large-scale production and based upon a system of forced labor. Third, the new industrial development while making deep inroads into old industrial habits and changing the living conditions of large numbers of people has by no means transformed the South from an agricultural community into a manufacturing community. The South, while in a process of change, has not as yet been revolutionized as have large sections of the North and West. This fact accounts not only for much of the conservatism exhibited in meeting present-day industrial problems, but also the persistence of old standards of living and habits of life.

Before discussing labor conditions in certain typical industries it will be necessary to consider the economic and social background of the workers and their employers making up the new industrial South. Much of the well-known political phases of this setting will be only incidentally referred to. However, some of the economic influences in this situation are not so well known, or at least are often ignored. Such influences, however, are generally fundamental in the building-up of a culture and the formation of a political policy or tradition.

CHAPTER II

The Southern Worker's Background

THE new situation which has recently developed in the South is the outcome of a rapid progress in industrial technique, particularly along manufacturing and commercial lines, in an environment which has been essentially non-industrial. This environment accounts for much that differentiates the new industrial South from other industrial sections of the country. It has been an important influence in determining wage rates, in fostering certain kinds of welfare work, and in perpetuating a paternalistic attitude in employers. Some considerations, therefore, should be given to this background in order that labor conditions in the South may be seen in their proper perspective.

One feature of the recent industrialization of the South which has attracted widespread attention and much criticism has been the low wage rates compared with corresponding rates in the North and Northeast. As will be shown later, this feature is not quite what it is sometimes represented to be, but after all due explanations have been made and duly weighed, what the economist calls real wages are relatively low in the South. In a general way this wage situation may be roughly indicated by comparing the value of manufactured output in our eleven southern states and in the country as a whole with the number of workers and their earnings for the year 1927.

TABLE 4

VALUE OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS AND NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS AND AGGREGATE EARNINGS FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES AND FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1927 [a]

	United States	Eleven southern states	Per cent of total for country
Number of establishments	191,866	24,183	12.6
Value of product	$62,718,347,289	$6,401,780,877	10.2
Value added by manufacturing	27,585,210,400	2,686,820,079	9.8
Number of wage earners	8,349,755	1,167,727	14.0
Wages paid	$10,848,802,532	$1,000,831,340	9.2

a. Census of Manufactures 1927. Statistics for Industries and States.

It will be noted that while our eleven southern states owned 12.6 per cent of the total number of manufacturing establishments of the United States and produced 10.2 per cent of the value of manufac-

tured output, they employed 14.0 per cent of the total number of workers and paid them only 9.2 per cent of the aggregate wages. While these figures would require a careful and detailed analysis for anything like a complete interpretation, they do indicate a situation in which the industrial worker of the South receives on the average a money compensation much below that of the country as a whole. This situation is an outcome of several influences which call for some discussion.

The old plantation system which for a long time typified the agriculture of the South was based upon forced labor, labor which, for the most part, was carried on by Negroes who had been imported from Africa, or their descendants.[1] The social status of this labor tended to repel free, and especially white, labor. The great planters, with limited numbers from the professional and commercial classes, evolved into an aristocracy. The great mass of whites, who were not planters, became small farmers or craftsmen in various and often remote parts of the South or inhabitants of the valleys and mountains of the Appalachian range. Many of the latter were descendants of people who had joined the westward movement from the Atlantic Coast Plain after the American Revolution and had stopped in the mountains before reaching the Mississippi Valley. Large numbers came from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. A considerable proportion were of Scotch-Irish origin, but there were other elements, among which the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch and the French Huguenots were conspicuous.

Between the aristocracy and the general mass of whites there was a wide gap in the standards of living. The aristocracy was more or less in touch with the main currents of trade, provided education for its own children, and determined the general course of political thought. The attitude of the planter was that of the landed proprietor in all countries where land was cultivated by a servile class. Toward this class he generally manifested a kindly and paternalistic interest. Living standards as well as racial differences separated him from those who worked his fields. These living standards also kept him apart from the great mass of people who were of his own race but who had been forced by the plantation system to eke out a comparatively meager livelihood on less desirable land or in occupations more or less tributary to the great plantations.

1. During the colonial period some of this forced labor was that of indentured servants.

The greater part of the white population of the South lived on a relatively low economic level. Transportation facilities were poor in regions away from the coast and the larger rivers, especially in the hilly and mountainous section of the country. While small farms were very numerous[2] they did not yield their owners the support that northern farms of similar size did. This was due mainly to three conditions: location, farming technique, and lack of facilities for marketing surplus product. The whites who engaged in craftsmanship and in petty trade were obliged directly or indirectly to serve plantation needs. In doing this, however, they often faced the competition of Negro craftsmanship which had been developed on the plantations, and Negro handlers of the great staple crops. In the Appalachian Mountains, communities had developed which were largely shut off from the trade of outsiders and had practically reverted to a barter economy.

The labor of the South, in what is called *ante bellum* days, was thus made up of Negro service on the large plantations and of white service of a miscellaneous nature, much of it engaged in small farming, local trade, and neighborhood industries of various sorts. In the case of both white and Negro labor living standards averaged low, the Negro, however, having some advantage over the "poor whites" in being looked after by a master who generally felt it his duty to see that his slaves or servants were cared for.

The Civil War in breaking up the plantation system swelled the ranks of free labor. The emancipated Negroes for the most part continued to labor on farms, either as share tenants or as wage earners. As wage earners they were at first unsuccessful, but they became important producers of raw cotton on the small farms carved out of the earlier plantations. They constituted, however, a potential labor supply whenever large manufacturing industries should see fit to locate in the South.

The white element, particularly that part of it that still lived in the more remote sections of the country and in the Appalachian Mountain region, constituted another and more important source of labor supply. It is mainly this element that makes up the "cheap labor" of the cotton manufacturing regions of the Carolinas, Georgia and

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2. Small farms were numerous in the South throughout the plantation era, much more numerous than the large plantations. However, the latter covered the greater part of the fertile area of the South and the area best located for transportation purposes.

Alabama. Much of it is of superior stock, the same stock that has furnished our nation with such men as Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, James K. Polk, and Abraham Lincoln. Social isolation, however, kept living standards low, prevented the spread of education, and fostered the prejudices and superstitions so characteristic of the remote and out-of-the-way settlements of the South.

The supply of labor was not affected in any appreciable degree by the European immigration which set in shortly after 1840 and has continued with short interruptions practically to the present time. The situation of the South with reference to this immigration just before industrialization began may be seen by comparing the number of persons of European birth in the fifteen slave states for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870 with the totals for the country as a whole.[3]

TABLE 5

FOREIGN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN THE SOUTH, 1850-1870

	Number of persons of European birth in United States	Number of persons of European birth in slave states	Per cent of total in slave states
1850	2,065,478	298,711	14.46
1860	3,803,201	573,131	15.07
1870	4,935,909	542,720	10.9

From one-half to two-thirds of the immigrants in the slave states lived in the so-called border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Hence the proportion for our eleven states would be reduced to about five to seven per cent for the years named. The only state in our group of eleven, and indeed the only slave state, which received any considerable number of immigrants was Louisiana, and here they were congregated almost entirely in New Orleans.

After the colonial and early period of our country's history, therefore, there was relatively little infiltration of European blood in the slave states, especially in the cotton growing area where the plantation system reached its highest development. White labor was furnished almost entirely by old colonial stocks, and the racial or national character of this labor has not changed since the migration of manufacturing industries southwards began some four or five dec-

3. Figures taken from article by Thomas Walker Page in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XX, No. 7, July, 1912, pp. 676 ff.

ades ago. In the year 1920, for example, the number of persons of European birth living in the United States was 13,712,754, of which only 625,909, or 4.6 per cent, resided in our eleven states. Of these more than half were residents of Texas.

This avoidance of the slave area by the immigrant population was due primarily to lack of economic opportunity. Prior to the Civil War aversion to the slave system may have played some part in keeping European immigrants north of the Mason and Dixon Line. Climatic influences also probably operated to a limited extent. But the most potent factor was economic. The small farm of the South in the plantation era and for a long time afterwards offered little in the way of gain to the prospective cultivator of the soil from Europe, and the plantation required a considerable capital outlay. The manufacturing industries were for the most part in the North and were of sufficient variety to enable the worker to take advantage of competing bids for employment. The great migrations of history, as has been shown by Dr. Beard, have been impelled by economic motives. It was very natural, therefore, for immigrants to settle in the northern and western parts of the country where economic opportunity beckoned to them rather than in the South.

The Negro element of the South after the close of the Civil War was composed almost entirely of former slaves or their descendants. The free Negroes during the plantation era constituted a small fraction of the total Negro population, and they often showed a disposition to move northwards, and indeed were sometimes forced to do so. There were also fugitive slaves who found their way to northern states. No large proportion of Negroes, however, left the South until comparatively recent years. The outbreak of the World War and the post-war immigration laws, by limiting the number of foreigners coming into this country from Europe, have brought about a northward movement of colored workers. This movement for a few years attained considerable proportions. However, the greater part of the Negro population of the United States still remains in the South. According to the Census of 1920 out of an American Negro population of 10,463,131, there were 8,142,105 Negroes, or about eighty per cent of the country's total living in our eleven states.

In attempting any appraisal of the labor situation of the South as we have it today it is necessary to keep in mind the sources of labor supply just described and the conditions under which the workers making up this supply lived. Concerning this supply two facts stand

out prominently. One is that the number of available laborers has been large compared with industrial development; and the other is that these workers, both white and black, have been accustomed to a standard of living much below that obtaining in the North and the West.[4]

With respect to the first, the ratio of labor supply to industrial demands, cannot be given with precision. A comparison, however, of population with estimated wealth for the country as a whole and for our eleven states shows roughly the difference in the economic demand for labor between the South and other sections of the country. As the greater part of the wealth covered by the figures below represents capital goods including land, this wealth in proportion to the population gives some indication of the ratio mentioned. Two years (1890 and 1922) are chosen in order to show this relationship for a year at the beginning of the period when industrialization was starting in the South and for the last year for which figures on national wealth have been compiled for both the nation and the several states.

TABLE 6

WEALTH AND POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1890 AND 1922[a]

	Wealth (In thousands)	Population (In thousands)	Per capita wealth
United States, 1890	$65,037,000	62,948	$1,036
Eleven southern states, 1890	8,549,000	16,470	519
Per cent of total for eleven southern states	13.1	26.2	
United States, 1922	$320,804,000	109,890	2,919
Eleven southern states, 1922	48,131,000	27,554	1,747
Per cent of total for eleven southern states	15.0	25.1	

a. Figures for population and wealth are those of the United States Census. They are in round numbers since the purpose is to give a rough indication of the differences in wealth between the southern states and the United States in general.

The figures show a striking difference between the South and the remainder of the country in per capita wealth. While our eleven states contained over twenty-six per cent of the country's population

4. Theodor Vogelstein, a German economist, who visited the United States a few years before the outbreak of the World War, described the conditions which he observed in the textile mills of the South. These conditions he found to be deplorable even from a European standpoint. It should be said, however, that the workers he saw had in a large proportion of cases just come from their mountain habitats where they and their forbears had practically lived at the physical minimum of existence. See Theodor Vogelstein: Organisationsformen der Eisenindustrie und Textilindustrie in England und Amerika.

in 1890, they had only a little over thirteen per cent of its wealth. In 1922 the figures are a little more favorable, but even then the states referred to had only fifteen per cent of the wealth of the United States with more than twenty-five per cent of the population. The per capita wealth in 1890 was $519 for the South as against $1,036 for the country as a whole, and in 1922 the corresponding figures were $1,747 and $2,919. While statistical data of this nature are not an accurate gauge of wage possibilities they do show that in our eleven states population was much larger in proportion to wealth than in the country as a whole.

The living conditions of those who furnished the labor supply constituted another factor in the southern wage situation. As has been noted there was a wide gap under the plantation system not only between the economic and social position of the plantation owners and their Negro slaves, but also between their position and that of the great mass of small farmers, craftsmen, and petty traders of the white race. A considerable part of the latter constituted what has been called the "poor white" of the South, sometimes contemptuously referred to by the Negroes themselves as "poor white trash." There was little resembling what would be called a middle class; and where such a class appeared it had a very limited influence.[5] Low standards of living for several generations had thus accustomed a large proportion of the southern whites to rates of pay for services or product which were wholly out of accord with those obtaining in regions where industrialization had been more rapid and widespread.

Little need be said concerning the Negroes. As long as the slave system lasted their living conditions depended upon the capacity and generosity of their masters. While the physical needs of this class of workers were generally looked after there was nothing in the experiences of the Negro which would impel him on the attainment of freedom to maintain a decent standard of living,—still less to strive for a better standard. Furthermore, the Negro's economic condition was affected to some extent by race feeling in certain parts of the South. Race feeling, however, has played a much smaller role in determining the Negro's opportunity to obtain work at relatively good wages than is commonly supposed.[6]

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5. It is easy to exaggerate this situation. There were, of course, communities made up largely of persons in what may be called moderate circumstances. However, such communities were relatively fewer in the South under the old plantation system than in the North and West.

6. The investigation made by the authors showed little difference between the wage rates of whites and those of Negroes where the work was of the same gen-

Closely connected with the low living standards which have obtained among the mass of southern workers has been their comparative isolation. Much has been said on this score concerning the mountain whites, who during the past few decades have been drawn into the cotton mills of North and South Carolina and Georgia. These peoples were formally scattered in numerous small communities in the Appalachian Mountains from Virginia and West Virginia to Georgia. Trading contacts were made with the inhabitants of the Piedmont region and Atlantic Coast Plain on the east and with the people of the Mississippi Valley on the west; but these contacts were not of a kind tending to establish any close social relationships. The comparative absence of railroads and good wagon or motor roads in these mountains served to keep these mountain communities apart from the main currents of American economic and social life. In fact, a separate culture or civilization has in a sense been in process of development in this region.

This comparative isolation, however, has not been unique in the case of the mountain whites of the Appalachians. It has been a feature of considerable sections of the South where good river and rail transportation has been lacking. The fact that life for most persons was rural rather than commercial in character tended to accentuate both economic and social aloofness.

One phase of this economic isolation, and indeed a result of it, was the lack of money. Much of the local trade, especially in the Appalachian Mountains, was by barter. As in the case of the American frontier, money tended to disappear, or at least become scarce. Hence local price levels were something quite different from those prevailing in communities where commerce had been more highly developed and gold and silver constituted a regular circulating medium. With the development of railroads and other means of communication in more recent times, this isolation is rapidly passing away, and with it the barter economy which in a measure has characterized it. However, certain survivals of the barter stage yet remain, and their influence is shown in the avidity with which workers will accept money payments for products and services, which would be treated with contempt in other more industrially advanced sections of the coun-

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eral nature. In many mills and factories whites and Negroes are segregated, the Negroes being employed in manual and heavy labor. Where special skill and strength were required the Negro would sometimes receive wages materially above those paid to whites engaged in other branches of the same establishment.

try. Money which was once a rare medium in local commercial intercourse has become astonishingly abundant from the standpoint of the inhabitant of these formerly isolated regions.

Much has been said of the lack of skill on the part of the workers of the South as compared with those of the North and the West. Attempts have been made to show that the great difference in wage levels is partly attributable to this cause. Labor in the South, however, has not been lacking in skill, and in skill of a high order. Craftsmanship attained an advanced stage of development in the *ante bellum* period. Insofar as the labor situation has been affected by the worker's skill and experience it has been influenced by a skill and experience that has become out of date. With the rapid spread of industries using machinery, a new kind of craftsmanship has been necessary, and the traditions of the past have had to be adjusted to a new order. Steadiness and regularity have become supreme virtues under the new craftsmanship of the machine system, and these virtues are not developed suddenly.[7]

In summing up these several aspects of this cultural background it may be said that a supply of labor, both white and black, large in proportion to wealth and capital, living standards among workers dating from a comparatively remote past much below those prevailing in other parts of the country, a relatively isolated communal life among considerable numbers with practically a barter economy in some regions, and a craftsmanship which was becoming out of date in a machine age, constitute some of the major conditions which have determined the present-day labor situation of the South. They are by no means the only conditions which make that situation a unique one in the United States. But as general determining forces they have been fundamental and furnish the background which gives a perspective to the picture presented by the statistics of wages and hours of labor, cost of living figures, general description of welfare work, and similar data usually offered in depicting the labor of the South.

Another aspect of this background should also be pointed out. The recent movement, as we have seen, in the direction of industrialization has been a rapid one. Transformations of this character, especially if they are sudden, are likely to be accompanied with more or less social

7. In the South stoppages of work are much more frequent than in the North. These stoppages are not strikes, but simply interruptions to allow workers rest or change of scene. Steady and regular employment is irksome. As will be shown in later chapters while the nominal hours of labor per week are greater than in the North the actual hours are less.

friction. Political and social traditions adapt themselves to new economic conditions rather slowly. The old plantation system had its traditions, and one of its traditions was its paternalism. The landed proprietor determined the activities of his slaves and to a large extent of his other dependents. He also assumed full responsbility for the satisfaction of their needs. Subject to certain social and moral pressure the authority of the planter on his estate approximated that of a local despot. More frequently than not the planter was a kindly despot. However, he brooked little or no governmental interference in the conduct of his business. Neither did he seek or accept advice from his dependents, even when he was most solicitous of their welfare.

This spirit of paternalism was not greatly changed by the Civil War. Indeed for a time it was necessary under the conditions that followed that struggle. This tradition of proprietary responsibility for dependents—a fine tradition in many respects—has survived in an environment of free labor with its assertion of the right to be self-determining. Much of the opposition to trade union movements, to laws limiting hours of labor for women and children, and to other regulatory measures, is in part an inheritance of this tradition of paternalism. Similar opposition has indeed been manifested by employers in other parts of the country, but in the South it has to some extent assumed the form of an opposing culture—a clash between an old civilization and a new one. It is in the light of this traditional inheritance on the part of employers of labor and of the past environmental conditions influencing workers above described that something like an interpretation of labor in the South can be made.

CHAPTER III

Wages in the Southern Furniture Industry

WHEN this present study was begun, it was found that there were no recent statistics available for wages and hours in the furniture industry.[1] It was therefore deemed necessary to collect such figures in order to round out the presentation of conditions existing in this important industry.

Our investigations were limited to three states—North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. It was our desire to make the figures obtained comparable, but limitations on time have necessitated an uneven collection of data. We, therefore, present the findings for individual states with the caution that, except in a very general way, no comparisons will or should be attempted. The data cover a different percentage of the workers in each state, and a different length pay period. There is also a year's difference in time between the North Carolina statistics and those for Tennessee and Virginia.

Another limitation is the fact that no figures are available for any but these three southern states. We cannot, then, draw any comparisons between conditions in the North and in the South. Nevertheless, despite the limitations, we feel that the data presented are valuable in that they give the facts as to wages and hours in one of our leading southern industries.

The facts for each worker were copied from the pay-roll books of the company, and later the specific job of each man was ascertained from the superintendent of the factory or from the foremen of the different rooms or departments.

Few women workers were found in the furniture plants of any of the states studied—certainly not enough to make necessary a separate classification. In plants employing women, such workers are usually found in the finishing room where both white and colored women are employed. This type of work will be described later.

Unlike the textile industry, furniture manufacturing is not solely a white man's industry. In some parts of the three states visited, there are numerous Negro workers, while in other cities no Negro labor is to be found employed in furniture factories. In the industry as a

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1. Since this statement went to the printer the Bureau of Labor Statistics has published figures on wages and hours of labor in this industry.

whole, the whites are in a great majority. On this account, and because there was no noticeable difference in the wages of whites and Negroes in plants where the two are employed, there is no wage distinction based upon color. The colored workers, however, are usually unskilled laborers.

Table 7 gives in summary form the extent of the present furniture wage study in the three southern states of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

TABLE 7

EXTENT OF THE FURNITURE INDUSTRY IN NORTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, AND VIRGINIA

	North Carolina	Tennessee	Virginia
Average number of wage earners according to Census of Manufactures, 1927	14,821	3,514	5,399
Number of wage earners for whom data were obtained	1,946	868	2,065
Per cent of total wage earners for whom data were obtained	13.1	24.7	38.2
Number of plants from which data were obtained	15	5	7

The work of furniture making falls roughly into three principal divisions—machine work, cabinet-making, and finishing. Upholstering forms another division of work in many establishments, but as only one or two North Carolina plants and one Tennessee plant had such departments, no figures will be presented for that sort of work. We also find in most of the plants a glue department where the veneer work is done, posts are blocked for size, and tops are manufactured. Those men who do the veneer work and post blocking we have classified as glue workers.

In the machine department the rough lumber is cut and dressed, and the various parts which enter into the completed piece are fashioned. Employees in this department are classified according to the machine which they operate, general machine workers who operate no particular machine, and miscellaneous machine operators who work on some of the less frequently found machines.

Regarding the pay of machine workers, it has been observed that length of service with the establishment, and general proficiency, are usually more important factors in determining the wages of a workman than is the mere fact that he happens to be operating a certain machine. This will explain why, in the classified earnings per hour

as shown in the Appendix, Tables 38 to 43, we find such great discrepancies in the wages of operators of the same machines. In addition to the operators, there is a large group of unskilled workers, usually boys or old men, who are classed as tail boys. These workers generally take the finished piece as it comes from the machine and stack it on the small hand trucks which are used for that purpose. The job of tail boy is not necessarily of the "blind alley" type, inasmuch as the boy is given instructions or learns by observation how to set up and operate the machine which he is tailing, and in that way may himself become a machine operator. He is the lowest paid worker in the factory.

In the cabinet-making department the pieces of furniture are assembled or set up. It is necessarily done by hand, though clamps or other devices are used for forcing joints together. In chair factories the assembling work is done by men who are classified as chair drivers. It should be emphasized in this connection that few all-round skilled cabinet-makers, as the term was formerly employed, are now found in furniture manufacturing establishments. The introduction of improved labor-saving machinery and the modern tendency toward specialization in industry, with the desire to effect a lowering of the cost of production, have caused such to be replaced in large measure by a cheaper type of labor.

We have subdivided the workers in the cabinet room according to the work done, as reported by the superintendent. The case fitter is the most skilled of the workers in the department, although here again as in the machine room, a man's wages depend a great deal upon the length of time he has been with the company. The frame builders, vanity makers, and drawer makers also do the work of setting up, but it is to the less important and less difficult parts of the process to which the names apply. The clamp operators knock the pieces together roughly in preparation for the case fitters.

The finishing department, as the term implies, is the place where the assembled piece of furniture is given its final treatment of staining, filling, and varnishing, before being packed for shipment. Rubbing and polishing are done in a separate department just before the piece leaves the factory. Hand sanding is included in nearly all phases of the manufacturing process, and we have therefore not placed that occupation in the finishing room figures.

The work of the men in the other divisions of the pay-roll is implied by the name. The yard workers are the unskilled laborers who

handle the lumber before it reaches the machine room. Upfitting and glass setting is the task of fastening on the various pieces of hardware necessary to complete a piece of furniture, and also of putting in the glass in the vanities and dressers. The mechanics are the skilled all-round machinists who must be found in any factory to take care of the repair work on the different machines. Our classification of "others" includes mostly sub-foremen, instructors, inspectors, and other more or less skilled employees.

North Carolina

Table 8 tabulates the results of our findings in North Carolina. The figures were collected in the fall of 1928 from fifteen plants hiring 1,946 workers, and all covering a two-week pay period within the month of October, 1928. This represents 13.1 per cent of the average wage earners for the year 1927 according to the Census of Manufactures for that date.

The factories in North Carolina which we visited pay their employees every two weeks. The full-time pay period in every case was 110 hours—ten hours on each week day, and five hours on Saturdays.

While factories visited were all working full time, the average actual hours worked by the men amounted to only 102.4 for the two-week period. The lowest number of hours worked was 95.7, the average for the tail boys; the highest average was 129.5, that of the firemen and night watchmen. Among the regular workers, the frame builders in the cabinet room worked 114.3 hours. Overtime is paid for at the regular hourly rate. A few of the plants pay a ten per cent bonus for regular attendance.

The average hourly rate of pay for all occupations is $.341. The highest rate is that received by the machine room foremen, $.673 an hour; the lowest is for tail boys, $.207 an hour. The highest rate for the ordinary workers is that of the moulder operators who receive $.449.

The average actual earnings for the two-week period were $35.46. This would amount to $17.73 a week as the average amount received by the furniture factory employee of North Carolina. Tail boys were paid $19.87 for the two weeks, or $9.94 for a week's work. The machine operators were paid an average of $20.02 a week, the highest average being $23.28, and the lowest $18.24. The cabinet room workers received slightly higher wages, $20.54 a week, and the fin-

TABLE 8

North Carolina—Two-Week Pay Period

Average Actual Hours Worked Per Pay Period, Average Earnings Per Hour, and Average Full-Time and Actual Earnings Per Pay Period, by Occupation

	Average number of wage earners	Average actual hours per pay period	Average earnings per hour	Average full-time earnings per pay period	Average actual earnings per pay period
Total—machine operators	397	104.3	$ .385	$42.28	$40.04
Cut off sawyers	22	108.2	.407	44.75	43.94
Rip sawyers	19	104.5	.364	40.09	37.78
Combination and variety sawyers	10	100.6	.420	46.20	42.25
Band sawyers	26	103.0	.442	48.57	45.51
Lathe operators	21	99.2	.387	42.50	38.15
Shaper operators	34	104.3	.418	46.02	44.03
Tenoner operators	12	101.7	.444	48.81	44.66
Moulder operators	21	105.2	.449	49.24	46.55
Sanding machine operators	95	104.1	.353	38.88	36.48
Planer operators	17	102.2	.377	41.26	38.54
Miscellaneous machine operators	54	101.6	.371	40.58	37.86
General machine operators	66	108.6	.367	40.18	39.83
Glue workers	29	102.4	.324	35.62	33.40
Tail boys	178	95.7	.207	22.73	19.87
Machine room foremen	14	112.5	.673	74.05	76.52
Total—cabinet room workers	294	104.0	.384	42.31	41.08
Case fitters	97	103.6	.448	49.50	48.56
Clamp operators	25	103.1	.351	38.65	36.30
Frame builders	6	114.3	.401	44.49	45.60
Drawer makers	6	100.6	.305	33.92	29.91
Vanity makers	17	110.6	.422	46.43	46.46
General cabinet room workers	73	105.9	.412	45.52	43.60
Helpers—cabinet room	48	99.6	.231	24.87	24.80
Chair drivers	22	103.1	.369	40.65	38.39
Total—finishing room	313	101.7	.332	36.45	33.98
Brush workers	41	101.7	.352	38.70	36.16
Spray operators	69	104.6	.407	44.72	42.32
Filler rubbers	97	100.0	.275	30.20	27.39
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	64	97.8	.244	26.84	24.03
General finishing room	42	107.0	.452	49.76	48.51
Hand sanders	210	97.8	.288	31.62	28.62
Yard workers	89	102.1	.261	28.65	27.05
Craters and packers	134	100.8	.308	33.87	31.54
Upfitters and glass setters	23	110.0	.401	44.12	46.62
Rubbers	121	100.7	.365	40.10	37.57
Mechanics	44	103.9	.489	53.68	51.04
Firemen and night watchmen	27	129.5	.357	39.31	46.74
Sweepers	18	109.2	.248	27.26	27.09
Others	55	106.6	.425	46.71	45.84
Totals for North Carolina	1,946	102.4	$ .341	$37.44	$35.46

ishing room employees the slightly lower wage of $16.99 for the five and a half days.

The "average full-time earnings" and the "average actual earnings" were so nearly the same that we shall not attempt to give any additional summary for the former classification.

Tennessee

The figures for Tennessee were collected during the month of October, 1929. As in the case of the other two states, the data were first copied from the pay-roll of the company, and then just the sort of work done by each man was ascertained by interview with the superintendent or foreman.

Five establishments were studied in this state, and reports were obtained on 868 workers. This number represents 24.7 per cent of the total number of wage earners in the furniture plants of Tennessee according to the 1927 United States Census of Manufactures.

All of the Tennessee establishments visited pay their employees once a week rather than every two weeks, as we found in North Carolina. The full-time hours per week were not, however, uniform. In one city, 52½ hours, rather than the usual 55, were found to be prevalent.

Several of the plants studied were working overtime, but the average hours actually worked were 55.2. The longest weekly hours were 68.3 for the firemen and night watchmen, and the shortest hours were for frame builders working in the cabinet room. Overtime, in general, was paid for only at the regular rate. One plant, however, paid time and a half for overtime.

The average earnings per hour for all workers were $.315. The highest rate was that paid to the spindle carvers, $.55 an hour, and the lowest, $.198, was received by the tail boys. Among the ordinary workers, $.456 was the best rate received, that paid to the lathe operators.

The average actual earnings for the pay period amount to $1.80 more than the full-time earnings. This is explained, of course, by the prevalence of overtime during the time studied. The average actual earnings for all workers amounted to $18.81 a week. The highest amount was that received by the machine room foremen, $38.74 a week. The lowest earnings were $10.94 for the period, which were paid to the tail boys. The machine operators' pay averaged $21.62 a week, and both the cabinet room workers and the

TABLE 9

Tennessee—One-Week Pay Period

Average Actual Hours Worked Per Pay Period, Average Earnings Per Hour, and Average Full-Time and Actual Earnings Per Pay Period, by Occupation

	Average number of wage earners	Average actual hours worked per pay period	Average earnings per hour	Average full time earnings per pay period	Average actual earnings per pay period
Total—machine operators	178	56.1	$ .368	$ 19.85	$ 21.62
Cut off sawyers	15	60.7	.385	20.59	25.33
Rip sawyers	14	55.4	.347	18.67	19.78
Combination and variety sawyers	9	57.8	.344	18.56	19.90
Band sawyers	14	54.3	.416	22.56	22.97
Lathe operators	7	55.2	.456	24.51	25.79
Shaper operators	13	54.9	.446	24.02	25.20
Tenoner operators	13	55.4	.374	19.90	20.74
Moulder operators	7	60.8	.449	24.17	28.04
Sanding machine operators	49	54.7	.324	17.58	19.20
Planer operators	7	60.0	.382	20.59	24.22
Miscellaneous machine operators	21	55.2	.362	19.31	20.06
General machine operators	9	58.0	.319	17.57	20.65
Glue workers	30	55.4	.338	18.42	20.42
Tail boys	98	53.6	.198	10.66	10.94
Machine room foremen	7	62.4	.528	29.07	38.74
Spindle carvers	3	54.6	.550	26.54	30.07
Total—cabinet room workers	119	55.0	.343	18.61	20.84
Case fitters	23	57.9	.417	22.86	26.70
Clamp operators	15	54.2	.378	20.35	22.32
Frame builders	10	51.8	.348	18.72	19.20
Drawer makers	7	53.6	.314	16.91	17.64
Vanity makers	3	57.3	.468	24.98	27.28
General cabinet room workers	18	53.4	.366	19.78	21.36
Helpers—cabinet room	30	53.5	.245	13.48	13.32
Chair drivers	13	59.0	.348	18.62	26.88
Total—finishing room	132	55.4	.278	15.01	17.83
Brush workers	19	55.1	.291	15.60	16.30
Spray operators	36	56.0	.346	18.69	23.13
Filler rubbers	36	52.3	.268	14.41	17.03
Tail boys and helpers, finishing room	32	57.6	.199	10.93	13.82
General finishing room	9	37.9	.294	15.93	17.27
Hand sanders	80	52.5	.289	15.59	16.44
Yard workers	55	57.2	.275	16.06	14.97
Craters and packers	58	54.9	.293	15.88	17.78
Upfitters and glass setters	11	53.8	.353	19.04	22.67
Rubbers	27	53.8	.333	17.85	18.66
Mechanics	9	59.0	.519	28.22	31.04
Firemen and night watchmen	8	68.3	.331	17.73	22.14
Sweepers	14	51.8	.267	14.24	14.50
Others	39	56.2	.419	22.49	24.63
Totals for Tennessee	868	55.2	$ .315	$17.01	$18.81

finishing room hands received slightly less, the former $20.84, and the latter $17.83.

Virginia[2]

The data for Virginia, as shown in Table 10, were gathered in the fall of 1929, and represent the pay-roll figures for a two-week period in October. The same procedure of obtaining the information was adhered to.

Seven factories were visited in this state, and facts secured for 2,065 workers. This represents 38.2 per cent of the total wage earners in the state's furniture industry as shown by the 1927 United States Census of Manufactures.

The establishments studied were all working full time, and one or two were doing a little overtime. However, only the normal hourly rate was paid for this extra work. One or two plants pay a bonus of ten per cent for regular full-time attendance. Most of the workers were paid every two weeks, and their full-time hours were 110. Where there was a deviation from this practice, the figures were corrected accordingly.

The average hours actually worked were 110.5 for the two weeks. Of the ordinary workers, the frame builders were on the job for 120 hours, the longest time of any. The tenoner machine operators worked only 98.4 hours during the two weeks, the lowest number for that class of workers.

The average hourly rate for the plants investigated was $.299. The highest rate, $.525 was paid to the machine room foremen; and the lowest rate, $.198 to the tail boys. The ordinary workers receiving the highest hourly wage were the lathe operators who were paid $.438 an hour.

The average actual earnings were $33.67 for the two weeks, or $16.84 for one week. Thirty-six dollars and three cents, the weekly earnings of the machine room foremen, is the high spot in this column, and $10.45 for tail boys is the lowest. The machine operators were paid $19.71, the cabinet room $18.07, and the finishing room $16.21 for a week's work.

The average full-time earnings for the pay period were $32.86, or $16.43 for a week. This is only slightly lower than the $16.84 which was actually paid for a week's work. In the Appendix we have

2. It must be emphasized again that the figures presented for the three states are not in any way comparable.

TABLE 10

Virginia—Two-Week Pay Period

Average Actual Hours Worked Per Pay Period, Average Earnings Per Hour, and Average Full-Time and Actual Earnings Per Pay Period, by Occupation

	Average number of wage earners	Average actual hours worked per pay period	Average earnings per hour	Average full-time earnings per pay period	Average actual earnings per pay period
Total—machine operators	411	113.2	$ .344	$37.87	$39.41
Cut-off sawyers	25	117.1	.395	43.41	46.00
Rip sawyers	23	112.4	.338	37.18	37.93
Combination and variety sawyers	32	108.8	.336	36.97	37.04
Band sawyers	25	113.5	.394	43.26	45.76
Lathe operators	12	118.4	.438	48.13	52.74
Shaper operators	27	110.9	.381	41.96	43.09
Tenoner operators	16	98.4	.400	43.58	40.59
Moulder operators	16	118.3	.414	45.55	49.62
Sanding machine operators	122	114.0	.317	34.89	36.45
Planer operators	17	118.2	.324	35.59	38.07
Miscellaneous machine operators	71	115.0	.329	36.15	38.19
General machine operators	25	109.7	.288	31.72	31.95
Glue workers	138	113.8	.276	30.33	32.11
Tail boys	259	104.1	.198	21.78	20.89
Machine room foremen	13	133.7	.525	57.75	72.06
Spindle carvers	10	108.5	.504	55.39	54.31
Total—cabinet room workers	256	110.8	.323	35.56	36.13
Case fitters	83	109.6	.373	41.04	41.07
Clamp operators	48	108.0	.322	35.39	35.04
Frame builders	19	120.0	.315	34.65	37.20
Drawer makers	19	108.8	.292	32.16	32.93
Vanity makers	7	124.3	.339	37.32	42.83
General cabinet room workers	43	112.7	.327	35.92	37.67
Helpers—cabinet room	37	108.4	.227	24.92	24.49
Total—finishing room	306	108.1	.295	32.37	32.41
Brush workers	77	110.0	.297	32.68	33.13
Spray operators	60	112.3	.358	39.37	40.15
Filler rubbers	83	106.6	.289	31.46	30.94
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	58	100.9	.225	24.75	23.29
General finishing room	28	113.5	.319	35.04	37.11
Hand sanders	175	108.3	.281	30.93	30.52
Yard workers	84	104.2	.263	28.89	28.04
Craters and packers	170	108.6	.280	30.75	30.74
Upfitters and glass setters	21	112.8	.326	35.81	37.17
Rubbers	106	112.3	.295	32.35	33.63
Mechanics	18	130.6	.473	52.01	63.14
Firemen and night watchmen	16	146.0	.345	37.92	50.50
Sweepers	9	98.0	.255	28.11	25.82
Others	73	118.3	.388	42.72	46.63
Totals for Virginia	2,065	110.5	$ .299	$32.86	$33.67

shown the classification of the actual earnings and of the hourly rates for the different occupations in the industry.

Naturally, it is impossible to draw any comparisons between the furniture industry and the cotton industry, but it is interesting to note that except for the most skilled textile workers, the average hourly wage for the furniture workers is higher than that received by the cotton mill people. The full-time hours in both industries are practically the same, but the furniture workers put in a larger percentage of those full-time hours than do the cotton mill employees.

We have presented the facts as found on the pay-rolls of furniture plants of three southern states. Let us now turn to a survey of those services performed by the mill managements, the value of which are important, though they do not appear in the weekly or bi-weekly pay envelopes.

CHAPTER IV

The Furniture Industry and Living Conditions

IN THE preceding chapter we have seen what wages are paid to the southern furniture worker. We should now consider what other things are done by the manufacturer for the worker. These things will be taken up one at a time and state by state.

The furnishing of houses by the employing company is one way in which workers are assisted. As is generally known, this is especially true of the southern cotton mills but among the furniture factories such is not the usual custom.

Virginia has, however, several furniture mill villages all of which have their origin in the fact that at the time of the founding of the factory there were no living quarters for workers in the communities other than those provided by the company. One city in Southwest Virginia is made up almost entirely of company-owned houses, though that ownership is divided among several corporations. Another neighboring city having nearly as many furniture factories, boasts of the fact that there are no company-owned homes. An interesting study in contrasts might well be made between these two communities.

Sixteen plants were visited in Virginia. Eleven of these owned no villages though two of the eleven do own a few homes either as a firm or as individual members of the firm, and one corporation goes so far as to own a few scattered houses and lease enough others so that they can guarantee a certain low rental to all of their employees.

The remaining five plants visited own villages. We will find that cotton mill house rentals are a matter of custom and are practically all the same no matter in what section they be found. Such is not the case among the furniture factories. Two, three, and four room cottages are the rule but rentals are not standardized. One company rents at $2 a room a month; a second charges $5 a month for a cottage; a third has houses ranging from $6 to $10; the fourth charges from $4 to $10; and the fifth asks $7.50 a month for its houses. The concern which guarantees rental sets this guarantee $2.50 a room a month. Comparative rental figures were obtained in one city and it was found that roughly speaking the rents for company-owned houses amounted to about half that charged other industrial workers in the city. However, it cannot be said that in Virginia the manufacturers

substantially increase the real wages paid by furnishing living quarters at greatly reduced rates.

An interesting development among these owners of villages in Virginia is the fact that they all expressed a willingness to sell the company houses. Most of them did not want to sell houses which were close to the mill, for they felt they must save them for new workers who might come in. One company though urges the men to purchase their own homes rather than live in the company-owned property.

The situation in North Carolina is entirely different. Nineteen plants were visited in that state and only one village was found. That particular plant, while its post office address is that of a large city, is so far on the outskirts of that city that it is actually in the country. A village affords the only method of housing the workers who wish to live close to the factory and not on their mountain farms. Four of the companies, either in their own names or in the name of some officer of the firm, own houses which they rent to their employees. Only a few of the total number on the pay-roll can be taken care of, however, and one executive complained bitterly that his employees would not live in the houses he provided, thus making it necessary for him to rent to outsiders.

In Tennessee no mill villages were found among the five plants visited though several were on the outskirts of town and the employees had to go long distances to their work.

We may conclude then that with a few exceptions the mill village is foreign to the southern furniture manufacturing industry, and that the wages of the furniture workers are not augmented by receiving housing at greatly reduced rates.

Another practice which would tend to increase the real wages of the furniture workers is that of selling them fuel at what is generally termed wholesale. Some firms sell coal and wood, others sell only wood. Out of the nineteen North Carolina factories only two sold no sort of fuel to their men and one of those did sell blocks to the superintendent and foremen. Twelve sold coal and wood to their employees. The wood is scrap and the usual arrangement is that the man pays for the cost of hauling these scraps from the factory to his home. The coal is usually bought by the company in carload lots and is sold to the men at the cost to the company plus the haulage. Wood only is sold by five companies, usually under the arrangements described above.

In Virginia and Tennessee the furnishing of fuel seems to be not

so much of a custom as in North Carolina. In every case the workers can obtain the scrap wood but, with one or two exceptions, only in the matter of preference does the employee have an advantage. The price is not great (usually from seventy-five cents to two dollars a load) but the men have to pay the same price as any outside buyer. The sale of coal by the companies was found to be practically non-existent among the factories in Virginia and Tennessee which we visited.

There are, of course, two savings involved in this practice. The first is the actual difference in cost between coal in carload lots and in smaller quantities, and there is the other saving of extended credit. A worker who buys coal from the factory is allowed to pay for it a little at a time, the pay-roll department taking an agreed weekly amount from the worker's wages. The advantage of this is obvious.

Complaints of this mixing of manufacturing and retailing come from two sources. Strange as it may seem, the workers in several plants are reported to have complained that they were receiving a coal inferior to that sold by the dealer in town or that their coal contained more slag and dust. The management insisted that the product sold was from the same mines and of the same quality as that sold by the local dealers. At any rate, according to one official, every contact with the men which involves a tampering with the pay-roll creates a possible cause of friction, and that particular company is seriously thinking of discontinuing the practice of furnishing coal and wood.

The local coal dealers also offer objections to these retailing practices. One company has met this objection by discontinuing the selling of coal to their employees, retaining the right, however, to do this again if the coal companies do not charge a fair price and do not treat their employees as the company believes they should be treated.

Although it is against the rules of the manufacturing associations to sell furniture to others than wholesale dealers, some companies admit that they will sell pieces to their employees at prices under those which would be charged at a retail store. Often these pieces are marred in some way so that to market them it would be necessary to refinish them or replace a broken part, but the employees in some of these instances are sold first class furniture at wholesale prices.

Two of the factories visited had arrangements whereby their men might purchase other articles at wholesale rates. One of these said

that if a man wanted some large machine, such as a pump or a stationary engine, the company would get it for him, while the other company through an affiliation with a wholesaling company, managed to give its employees reduced rates on anything they might need except food.

Considering the facts just outlined it would seem that as a whole the furniture industry in the South does little in any measurable way to augment the wages paid the workers. We must now inquire into the various ways taken by employers to make the lives of the workers and their families more enjoyable, which do not appear in dollars and cents in the weekly or bi-weekly pay envelopes. We refer to such things as insurance, recreational activities, care when sick, and care when aged.

Without entering into any discussion as to the advisability of group insurance, whether it be paternalistic or whether it would be better to pay to the men in wages, the cost of the insurance to the company, the fact remains that the employees are the recipients of a service for which they would have to pay heavily in the open market if they desired that service. It is wrong, however, to say, as has been said, that group insurance is one of the ways in which the southern manufacturer, who may or may not pay a lower wage than his northern competitor, makes an indirect contribution to the daily pay. If the insurance is non-contributory (that is if the employer pays the entire premium) the worker is not consulted as to whether he wants insurance or not; and if the employee pays part of the insurance, he is liable to forget the share paid by his employer, and think of the weekly deduction as being full payment for value received. To say that insurance is a good thing is to state a truism and the generosity of employers who establish group policies for their employees should be highly commended. To offer the presence of group insurance as an excuse for lower wages—as one of the "wage equivalents as reduced or free house rent or other special services rendered by the companies to employees"—is certainly not in accordance with the spirit shown in instituting the group policy in the first place. We must say, however, that it is usually the apologists of southern industry and not the southern industrialists themselves who make this absurd claim.

In Virginia, group insurance among the employees of furniture factories is wide-spread. Nine of the plants visited had policies in force and the larger part of these policies were non-contributory in

nature. Of the four which did not carry group insurance, two gave no particular reason for the omission, one was really too small to afford the plan, and in the fourth plant the president is opposed to any plan of group insurance.

The ratio in North Carolina is somewhat lower. Of the nineteen plants studied, ten had group insurance and nine did not. Again differing from Virginia, the larger part of these policies are contributory in nature.

Most of the companies reporting no policies in force offered no particular explanation for its lack. However, one company has a benefit association which takes the place of insurance as far as death benefits are concerned, and the other three who offered reasons, insisted that the men prefer the money to the insurance and in at least one instance a bonus was chosen by the workers instead of the group policy.

Bonuses among the plants we are considering are the exception rather than the rule. Three of those studied have some sort of bonus system, no one of which is based on a production basis. As one of the problems of a factory superintendent is to insure somewhat regular attendance at work, several of the bonuses paid are for regular attendance at work during the week or two-week pay period. Another constant problem is labor turnover, and others of these bonus systems seek to cope with that difficulty by offering a bonus on the wages earned to the men who have worked for the company for the entire year or offering a cash gift at Christmas time, based upon the number of years a man has been in the employ of the organization.

Instead of a bonus most of the concerns, as a usual thing, give some sort of Christmas present to their men. As a present, it is, of course, not a definite promise. A firm may give something one year and give nothing the next. This present takes a variety of forms. Some give money, others give clothing, and still others give food—a ham, a turkey, a fruit cake, or a basket. When presents are given the ordinary custom is to remember everyone on the pay-roll though there are several firms who select the group to receive the gift—this group consisting of the superintendent and foremen and perhaps some of the workers who have been with the corporation for many years.

As we have seen previously, the furniture manufacturers seem to believe in a non-paternalistic policy toward their labor as far as housing is concerned. Much the same is true in their plans of wel-

fare and community work. Practically nothing of a formal and planned nature is done along those lines. As all of the factories visited were in or near incorporated towns or school districts the problem of furnishing adequate school facilities is not a pressing one. The mill is saved the expense of supporting or materially aiding in the support of the town schools, besides paying their taxes. At least one plant in Virginia cooperated during the summer of 1928 with the state in the establishment of a summer school in the village. Another firm helped in the arrangements for night schools and several more cooperated with the state in the foremen's training work of the state. No sort of educational work in North Carolina or Tennessee was found to be carried on directly by the corporations.

Only five companies supported baseball or any other kind of recreational or club work among their men. Others had done so in the past but had found that there was a great lack of interest shown by the men or that a semi-professional team whose members worked in the factory played havoc with the morale of the regular working force.

Throughout the entire industry in the South the answer to the question "Do you have a pension plan and a mutual benefit association?" was, with the exception of one aid association, "No." But the southern furniture factory is usually small and the management is inclined to feel that a worked out pension plan and an organized mutual aid association is not for it. It should not be inferred, however, that an old man is replaced when he can no longer give full service or that a man and his family are allowed to suffer because of the misfortune of sickness.

When a man is too old to handle his job, his case is considered on its individual merits, the only general rule being that an employee must not be allowed to suffer want. Some men are allowed to stay at their old jobs even though a younger man could do the work more effectively. As one superintendent put it "We figure that an old experienced man is worth just as much to us as a young inexperienced fellow. The old man may not be as strong, but he can direct the others." Other plants appear to be moved by reasons more altruistic. In another case a man may be given lighter work. This is by far the most popular method of treating the problem. Sometimes a man's pay is kept at the old rate. At other times the pay is reduced in accordance with the rates of the new job. It should not be supposed, however, that this industry runs a sort of home for the

aged. Men who have grown old in the service are looked after but the furniture industry in the South is new, and those who were employed in the early factories are still able to do some work. Several executives made mention of the fact that old age was going to become more of a problem in a very few years. There is also to be considered the turnover of labor. Although there are no rules affecting the length of time a man must be employed before he can receive direct or indirect aid from the company, a manufacturer does not feel responsibility for a newcomer who starts work as an old man.

The same haphazard but friendly man to man methods are used in helping indigent workers. Two of the companies visited have plans whereby workers who need help can obtain it; in one of these the membership is voluntary and in the other it is compulsory. One association pays a fixed amount for a given case; the other pays, upon application, in accordance with the need as determined by a committee. The other concerns rely upon the taking of a collection among the men, the company always adding to the sum either as a company or as individual members of the company. Managers and superintendents are often called upon for loans though this practice has very evident limitations and is usually discouraged. One concern, however, feels that each man should learn to stand on his own feet. Collections are therefore discouraged, and a worker in need is asked to come to the office, present his case, and borrow money from the company, with the understanding that the office take a little from his pay each week when he is earning again. As in the handling of the problem of old age, one general rule is followed. A person connected with the factory must not be allowed to suffer. The plants are without exception, small enough so that the superintendent can and does know every man on the job. If a man is in trouble, the superintendent knows about it very shortly and goes to the man with aid or talks it over with him at the office. In this way, without any attempt at a systematic plan of relief, the companies undertake to look after those who need help.

Among the furniture factories that we visited there were found to be very few material additions to the pay of the employees in the form of house rent at low rates or fuel at low prices. Some few factories have mill villages and offer rents at about half the price which would be charged for the same service in town. A number of plants especially in North Carolina sell coal and wood to their employees, but

the majority of the places visited in the other two states offer the employees only the advantage of first choice for scrap wood and do not sell them coal at all. Planned systems of welfare work were not generally found. But in every case the management claimed that the men were not allowed to suffer from any form of misfortune. The case of each worker, however, was handled on its own individual merits.

CHAPTER V

Wages in the Lumber Industry

ANOTHER of the South's leading industries is lumbering and logging. It has not been a subject for general discussion as the cotton mills have been, despite the fact that, as we have previously shown, it ranks among the leaders of the industrial South. In the following chapter we shall attempt to give some idea of the actual living conditions of the great army of workers who work in the sawmills of one of the great lumber producing sections of the United States. The present chapter will be devoted to a short discussion of the wages and hours in this industry, as shown in the various bulletins of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

The data obtainable are not nearly so complete as those available for the cotton industry; nor are the figures given for each state arranged in such a way that we can compute by section the average actual earnings or the average actual hours of labor. The reason for this is the different pay periods in the industry. Some establishments pay every week, others every two weeks or half month, and a few still pay only once a month. The information for average rates per hour, for full-time hours a week, and for full-time weekly earnings, need not be affected by the difference in pay period for reasons which are quite obvious. In giving figures for actual hours or actual wages, the Bureau of Labor Statistics divides the information according to the length of the pay period, as well as by state. To combine the figures by state would have been almost an impossible task as well as impractical. Our computations, then, do not include any figures for actual earnings or actual hours as distinguished from the full-time earnings and the full-time hours.

Even in preparing the figures for full-time weekly wages, it was found that the data given for 1919 were not comparable with those for other years, as Bulletin number 265, containing figures for that year, while a bulletin of the Bureau, is not one of the Wages and Hours of Labor Series and therefore was not compiled in the same manner as the publications containing the data for the other years. We have therefore omitted figures for 1919 in our table showing the average full-time weekly earnings. The hourly wage rates for that year were comparable and are tabulated.

For comparative purposes we have divided the lumber producing

states into three groups—South, North, and Northwest. The "South" in this classification includes the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. Under "North" we have put Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; and the "Northwest" in our computations is made up of California, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington.

Following is a list of the tables for this chapter. The figures for 1928 were taken from the *Monthly Labor Review* summary of the report, and this summary did not include the occupations of trimmer operators and machine feeders in planing mills. The completed report for 1928 is not available at this writing.

Table 11—Average earnings per hour by occupation and comparative yearly position of the South, the Northwest, and the North as compared with the average for the United States. Yearly average for the United States = 100.

Table 12—Average earnings per hour—comparative increases and decreases for the United States, the South, the Northwest, and the North. Sectional average for 1913 = 100.

Table 13—Average full-time weekly wage by occupation and comparative yearly position of the South, the Northwest, and the North as compared with the average for the United States. Yearly average for the United States = 100.

Table 14—Average full-time weekly wage—Comparative yearly standing for the United States, the South, the Northwest, and the North. Sectional average for 1913 = 100.

Table 15—Average full-time weekly hours by occupation for the United States, the South, the Northwest, and the North.

Table 11 shows the average hourly earnings by section for the various occupations. This information is given graphically in Figures 1 and 2, for the two most important lumber producing sections, namely, the South and the Northwest. The figures for the North, while appearing in the various tables, have not been included on the graphs. We see here that for the first three years given, namely, 1912, 1913, and 1915, the wages for these two important lumber producing sections, are within a few cents of one another. From 1915 to 1919 came a change—the wages of the South did not keep up with the wages in

TABLE 11

AVERAGE EARNINGS PER HOUR BY OCCUPATION AND COMPARATIVE YEARLY POSITION OF THE SOUTH, THE NORTHWEST, AND THE NORTH AS COMPARED WITH TE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100.

		1912		1913(1)		1915		1919		1921		1923		1925		1928	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sawyers, Head, Band	United States	100.	$.552	100.	$.561	100.	$.537	100.	$.768	100.	$.797	100.	$.883	100.	$.877	100.	$.88
	South	100.	.551	100.	.561	98.	.529	82.	.630	92.	.739	92.	.816	98.	.861	93.	.83
	Northwest	102.	.564	106.	.598	111.	.596	123.	.943	118.	.940	120.	1.074	121.	1.065	123.	1.09
	North	100.	.551	96.	.541	96.	.515	84.	.645	90.	.722	89.	.791	87.	.759	87.	.77
Doggers	United States	100.	.180	100.	.192	100.	.178	100.	.358	100.	.306	100.	.343	100.	.332	100.	.33
	South	88.	.158	86.	.165	87.	.155	87.	.311	75.	.230	80.	.275	84.	.280	82.	.27
	Northwest	128.	.230	129.	.248	132.	.236	142.	.508	146.	.449	156.	.535	152.	.506	152.	.50
	North	117.	.210	119.	.229	122.	.217	104.	.371	115.	.354	115.	.396	128.	.425	127.	.42
Setters	United States	100.	.252	100.	.256	100.	.240	100.	.446	100.	.412	100.	.474	100.	.458	100.	.46
	South	87.	.219	89.	.229	90.	.217	84.	.373	74.	.305	78.	.370	83.	.381	81.	.38
	Northwest	109.	.276	115.	.296	119.	.285	126.	.562	128.	.530	134.	.639	135.	.617	135.	.63
	North	113.	.286	110.	.283	109.	.262	97.	.433	107.	.442	108.	.512	106.	.487	102.	.47
Saw Tailers on Head Saws	United States	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.	.326	100.	.364	100.	.349	100.	.35
	South	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69.	.225	74.	.271	77.	.270	74.	.26
	Northwest	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	139.	.453	147.	.537	146.	.511	144.	.51
	North	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	110.	.358	111.	.406	110.	.384	104.	.37
Edgermen	United States	100.	.260	100.	.269	100.	.252	100.	.440	100.	.437	100.	.492	100.	.468	100.	.47
	South	88.	.229	89.	.240	89.	.225	85.	.374	76.	.332	77.	.381	83.	.389	80.	.37
	Northwest	135.	.352	134.	.361	136.	.344	144.	.636	135.	.591	148.	.728	147.	.692	147.	.69
	North	104.	.272	105.	.282	107.	.269	99.	.435	98.	.430	101.	.497	100.	.471	98.	.46
Trimmer Operators	United States	100.	.210	100.	.218	100.	.204	100.	.405	100.	.381	100.	.430	100.	.409	.....	.....
	South	83.	.174	85.	.186	84.	.172	80.	.326	69.	.265	76.	.328	79.	.323	.....	.....
	Northwest	139.	.291	142.	.311	145.	.295	138.	.562	136.	.518	151.	.649	150.	.615	.....	.....
	North	107.	.224	103.	.224	103.	.211	96.	.389	100.	.380	98.	.422	98.	.402	.....	.....
Machine Feeders Planing Mills	United States	100.	.185	100.	.190	100.	.177	.....	.....	100.	.327	100.	.355	100.	.390	.....	.....
	South	88.	.163	87.	.165	87.	.154	.....	.309	72.	.237	78.	.276	70.	.274	.....	.....
	Northwest	135.	.249	138.	.262	137.	.243	.....	.540	141.	.463	150.	.533	135.	.529	.....	.....
	North	110.	.204	109.	.208	116.	.205	.....	.370	113.	.370	113.	.402	100.	.390	.....	.....
Laborers	United States	100.	.164	100.	.173	100.	.158	100.	.345	100.	.285	100.	.310	100.	.309	100.	.303
	South	87.	.142	85.	.147	88.	.139	80.	.280	68.	.193	73.	.228	77.	.239	76.	.229
	Northwest	130.	.213	133.	.230	130.	.205	129.	.446	144.	.411	158.	.492	155.	.480	154.	.465
	North	116.	.190	112.	.194	115.	.182	122.	.421	106.	.302	118.	.366	113.	.349	109.	.330

A. Comparative Yearly Standing. B. Average Hourly Earnings.

(1) Figures for 1913 taken from Bulletin 225—"Wages and Hours of Labor in the Lumber, Mill Work and Furniture Industries, 1915." This report gives figures for 1913 which are slightly different from those contained in Bulletin 153 which contains the data collected in 1913.

FIGURE 1

AVERAGE EARNINGS PER HOUR IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR THE SOUTH AND THE NORTHWEST—1912-1928

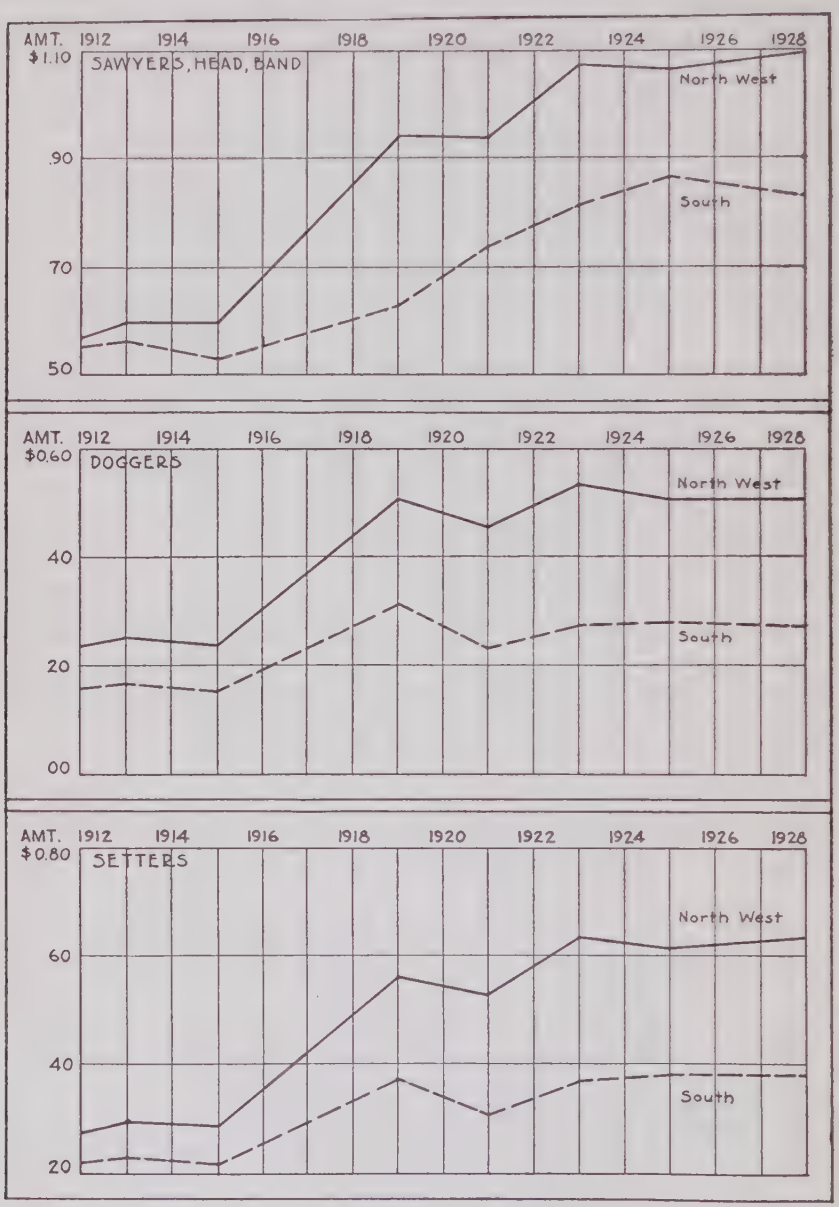
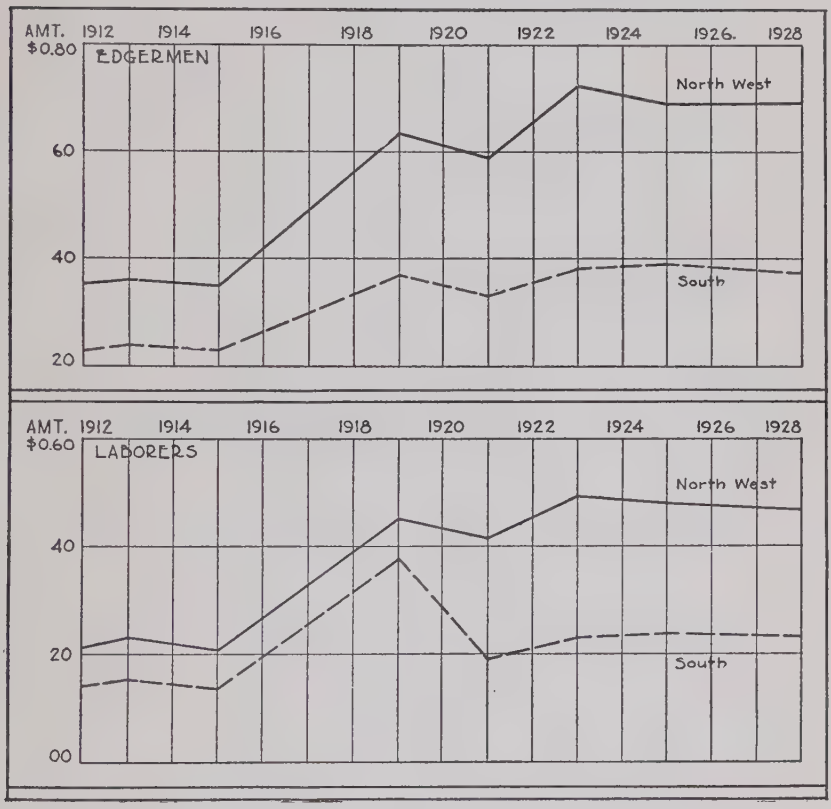


FIGURE 2

AVERAGE EARNINGS PER HOUR IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR THE SOUTH AND THE NORTHWEST—1912-1928—Continued



the Northwest—with the result that there is now, and has been since 1923, a difference of from twenty to thirty cents per hour in the pay of all classes of workers of the two sections. The average wage in the North, except for head sawyers is above the southern average.

Table 12 tabulates the data for the percentage increases and decreases in the different occupations for the different sections. This has not been charted as similar figures for the average full-time weekly earnings have been.

TABLE 12

AVERAGE EARNINGS PER HOUR—COMPARATIVE INCREASES AND DECREASES FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, THE NORTHWEST, AND THE NORTH. SECTIONAL AVERAGE FOR 1913 = 100

		1912	1913	1915	1919	1921	1923	1925	1928
Sawyers, Head, Band	United States	98.	100	96.	137.	142.	157.	156.	157.
	South	98.	100	94.	112.	132.	145.	153.	149.
	Northwest	94.	100	100.	158.	157.	179.	178.	183.
	North	102.	100	95.	119.	134.	146.	140.	144
Doggers	United States	94.	100	93.	186.	159.	178.	173.	174.
	South	96.	100	94.	189.	139.	167.	170.	166.
	Northwest	93.	100	95.	205.	181.	216.	204.	205.
	North	92.	100	95.	162.	154.	173.	185.	185.
Setters	United States	98.	100	94.	174.	161.	185.	179.	183.
	South	96.	100	95.	163.	133.	161.	166.	166.
	Northwest	93.	100	96.	189.	179.	215.	208.	214.
	North	100.	100	91.	151.	154.	179.	170.	167.
Edgermen	United States	96.	100	94.	163.	162.	183.	174.	174.
	South	95.	100	94.	156.	138.	159.	162.	156.
	Northwest	98.	100	95.	176.	164.	202.	192.	192.
	North	96.	100	95.	154.	152.	176.	167.	163.
Trimmer Operators	United States	96.	100	93.	186.	175.	197.	187.	.....
	South	93.	100	92.	175.	142.	176.	174.	.....
	Northwest	93.	100	95.	180.	166.	208.	197.	.....
	North	100.	100	94.	174.	170.	188.	179.	.....
Machine Feeders, Planing Mills	United States	97.	100	93.	.....	172.	187.	205.	.....
	South	99.	100	93.	187.	144.	167.	166.	.....
	Northwest	95.	100	93.	206.	176.	203.	202.	.....
	North	98.	100	98.	178.	178.	193.	187.	.....
Laborers	United States	95.	100	91.	199.	165.	179.	179.	175.
	South	97.	100	95.	190.	131.	155.	163.	156.
	Northwest	92.	100	89.	194.	178.	214.	208.	202.
	North	98.	100	94.	217.	155.	188.	180.	170.

Tables 13 and 14, and Figures 3 and 4, give the information available for the full-time weekly wages. From the different graphs we see that the changes in rates have been about the same in both sections up until 1925. Between 1925 and 1928, there has been a distinct downward trend in the full-time wages of the southern sawmill workers. Among the workers of the Northwest, no particular changes can be noticed during these last few years. Some occupations show an increase, and others a decrease. The wages of the more skilled occupations of sawyers and setters has risen, while those of the unskilled laborers have been reduced.

The matter of hours is interesting. The employees in the two sections, until 1915, worked within two hours of the same time per week; but since that time, and especially since 1923, there has been a difference of from eight to ten hours between the weekly hours of the South and the Northwest. Hours in the South have not changed much since 1913. These hours are shown in Table 15 and Figure 5.

To summarize—the workers in the lumber mills of the South have received wages consistently lower than the workers in the Northwest. The differences, however, have remained about the same until 1925. Since then, the wages in the South have dropped. This situation is probably due in part to the fact that the days of lumber production on a large scale in this section of the country are limited. The demand for labor is decreasing fast.

Without a study of conditions in the Northwest, comparisons are impossible, but in the following chapter we will discuss the life of the workers in the South.

TABLE 13

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY WAGE BY OCCUPATION AND COMPARATIVE YEARLY POSITION OF THE SOUTH, THE NORTHWEST, AND THE NORTH AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

	1912		1913(1)		1915		1921		1923		1925		1928	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sawyers, Head, Band														
United States	100.	$33.73	100.	$34.14	100.	$32.61	100.	$46.07	100.	$50.33	100.	$50.60	100.	$50.29
South	101.	34.06	108.	36.81	95.	30.95	97.	44.47	97.	48.75	104.	52.77	98.	49.30
Northwest	100.	33.83	104.	35.71	109.	35.58	105.	48.55	107.	53.79	106.	53.56	110.	55.56
North	99.	33.30	96.	32.72	95.	31.14	96.	43.99	93.	46.79	89.	45.08	92.	46.24
Doggers														
United States	100.	$11.03	100.	$11.68	100.	$10.84	100.	$17.78	100.	$19.76	100.	$19.32	100.	$19.30
South	89.	9.81	87.	10.11	88.	9.50	78.	13.81	83.	16.42	87.	16.79	84.	16.26
Northwest	125.	13.79	130.	15.23	132.	14.28	129.	23.02	134.	26.47	128.	24.81	130.	25.05
North	115.	12.73	118.	13.74	122.	13.18	117.	20.87	118.	23.40	130.	25.18	131.	25.24
Setters														
United States	100.	$15.42	100.	$15.59	100.	$14.59	100.	$23.73	100.	$27.02	100.	$26.34	100.	$26.44
South	88.	13.60	90.	14.09	91.	13.28	77.	18.30	82.	22.06	86.	22.81	100.	22.54
Northwest	107.	16.56	113.	17.64	117.	17.11	115.	27.38	118.	31.98	117.	30.85	122.	32.32
North	112.	17.27	109.	17.06	111.	16.19	112.	26.65	113.	30.49	110.	28.95	106.	28.01
Saw Tailers on Head Saws														
United States	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.	$18.81	100.	$20.75	100.	$20.00	100.	$20.02
South	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	72.	13.48	78.	16.16	81.	16.16	78.	15.70
Northwest	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	123.	23.24	129.	26.84	128.	25.52	127.	25.54
North	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	113.	21.28	116.	24.06	114.	22.79	109.	21.90

Edgermen														
United States	100.	$15.91	100.	$16.34	100.	$15.32	100.	$25.13	100.	$28.09	100.	$27.05	100.	$26.65
South	90.	14.25	90.	14.72	90.	13.77	79.	19.80	81.	22.80	87.	23.47	84.	22.26
Northwest	133.	21.18	131.	21.46	134.	20.53	119.	29.97	129.	36.33	127.	34.41	129.	34.58
North	105.	16.68	104.	17.06	106.	16.28	101.	25.49	105.	29.55	104.	28.05	103.	27.43
Trimmer Operators														
United States	100.	$12.87	100.	$13.29	100.	$12.37	100.	$21.72	100.	$24.47	100.	$23.60	.....	.....
South	86.	11.01	86.	11.42	85.	10.51	73.	15.86	80.	19.57	83.	19.61	.....	.....
Northwest	136.	17.46	140.	18.60	143.	17.68	120.	26.01	131.	32.24	129.	30.52	.....	.....
North	105.	13.57	102.	13.56	103.	12.72	106.	23.08	102.	25.04	103.	24.44	.....	.....
Machine Feeders, Planing Mills														
United States	100.	$11.30	100.	$11.55	100.	$10.79	100.	$18.44	100.	$20.45	100.	$21.76	.....	.....
South	90.	10.13	87.	10.06	87.	9.44	74.	13.71	81.	16.64	76.	16.44	.....	.....
Northwest	132.	14.93	135.	15.65	137.	14.75	123.	22.66	127.	26.00	119.	25.89	.....	.....
North	109.	12.28	109.	12.60	115.	12.40	120.	22.11	117.	24.05	105.	22.97	.....	.....
Laborers														
United States	100.	$10.09	100.	$10.49	100.	$ 9.62	100.	$16.30	100.	$17.83	100.	$17.77	100.	$17.24
South	88.	8.85	86.	9.00	87.	8.36	71.	11.59	77.	13.71	81.	14.35	79.	13.61
Northwest	127.	12.78	131.	13.72	128.	12.30	125.	20.44	137.	24.50	132.	23.42	135.	23.31
North	114.	11.52	111.	11.67	115.	11.06	110.	18.01	123.	21.92	116.	20.72	114.	19.55

A. Comparative Yearly Standing.

B. Average Weekly Wage.

(1) Figures for 1913 taken from Bulletin 225—"Wages and Hours of Labor in the Lumber, Mill Work and Furniture Industries, 1915." This report gives figures for 1913 which are slightly different from those contained in Bulletin 153 which contains the data collected in 1913.

FIGURE 3

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY WAGE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS—COMPARATIVE YEARLY STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND THE NORTHWEST. SECTIONAL AVERAGE FOR 1913=100

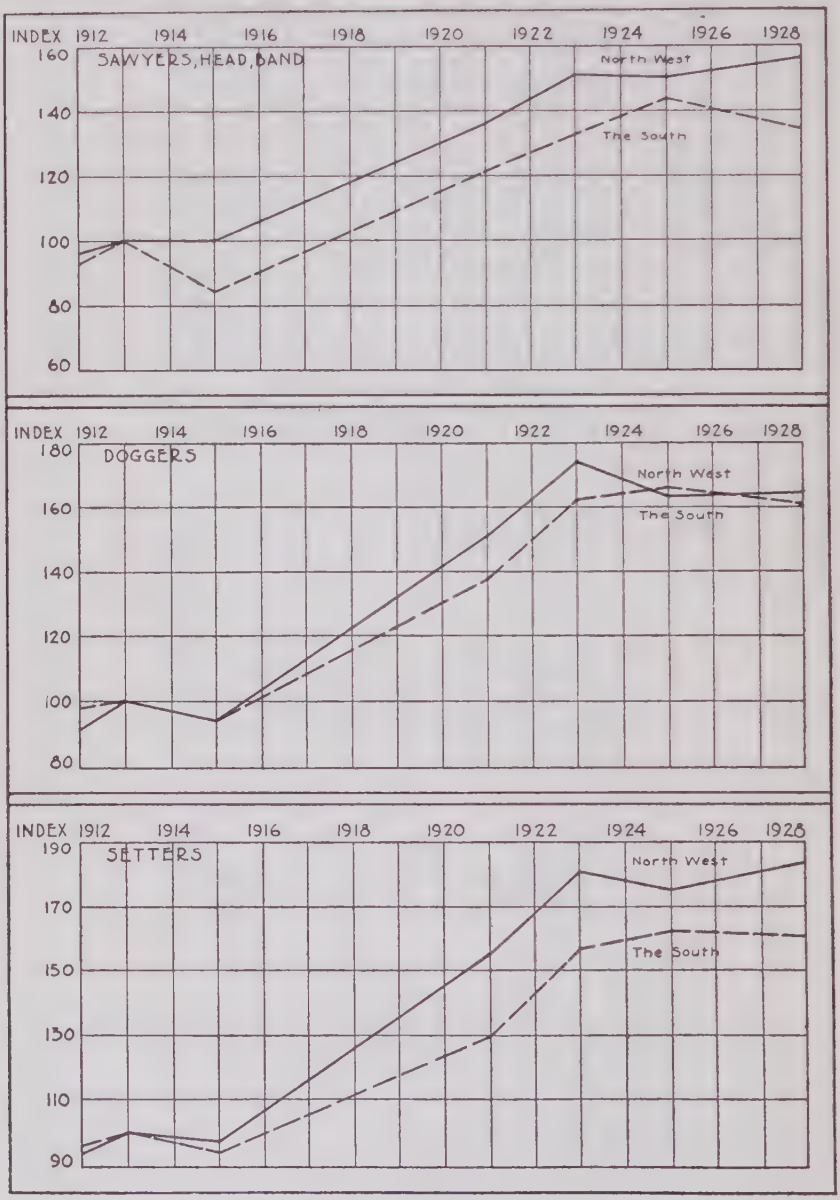


FIGURE 4

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY WAGE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS—COMPARATIVE YEARLY STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND THE NORTHWEST.
SECTIONAL AVERAGE FOR 1913=100—Continued

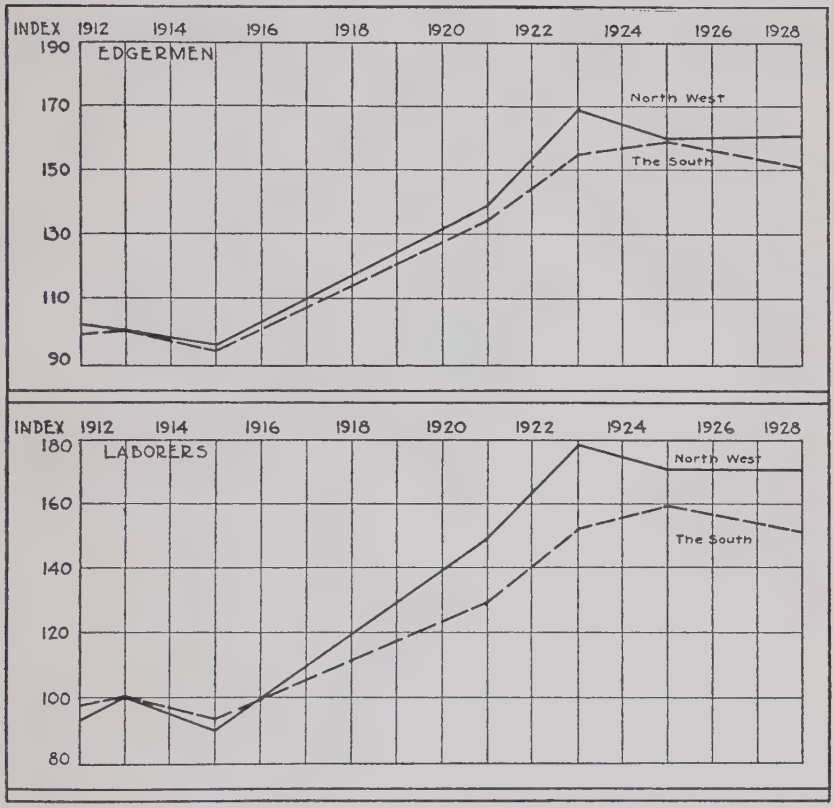


TABLE 14

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY WAGE—COMPARATIVE YEARLY STANDING FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, THE NORTHWEST, AND THE NORTH.
SECTIONAL AVERAGE FOR 1913 = 100

		1912	1913	1915	1921	1923	1925	1928
Sawyers, Head, Band	United States	99.	100	95.	135.	147.	148.	147.
	South	92.	100	84.	121.	132.	143.	134.
	Northwest	95.	100	100.	136.	151.	150.	156.
	North	101.	100	95.	134.	143.	138.	141.
Doggers	United States	94.	100	93.	152.	169.	165.	165.
	South	97.	100	94.	137.	162.	166.	161.
	Northwest	91.	100	94.	151.	174.	163.	164.
	North	93.	100	96.	152.	170.	183.	184.
Setters	United States	99.	100	94.	152.	173.	169.	169.
	South	96.	100	94.	130.	156.	162.	160.
	Northwest	94.	100	97.	155.	181.	175.	183.
	North	101.	100	95.	156.	179.	170.	164.
Edgermen	United States	97.	100	94.	154.	172.	165.	163.
	South	97.	100	94.	134.	155.	159.	151.
	Northwest	99.	100	96.	139.	169.	160.	161.
	North	98.	100	95.	149.	173.	164.	161.
Trimmer Operators	United States	97.	100	93.	163.	184.	178.	.....
	South	96.	100	92.	139.	171.	172.	.....
	Northwest	94.	100	95.	140.	173.	164.	.....
	North	100.	100	94.	170.	185.	180.	.....
Machine Feeders	United States	98.	100	93.	160.	177.	188.	.....
Planing Mills	South	100.	100	94.	136.	165.	163.	.....
	Northwest	95.	100	94.	145.	166.	165.	.....
	North	98.	100	98.	175.	191.	182.	.....
Laborers	United States	96.	100	92.	155.	170.	169.	164.
	South	98.	100	93.	129.	152.	159.	151.
	Northwest	93.	100	90.	149.	178.	171.	170.
	North	100.	100	96.	156.	190.	180.	170.

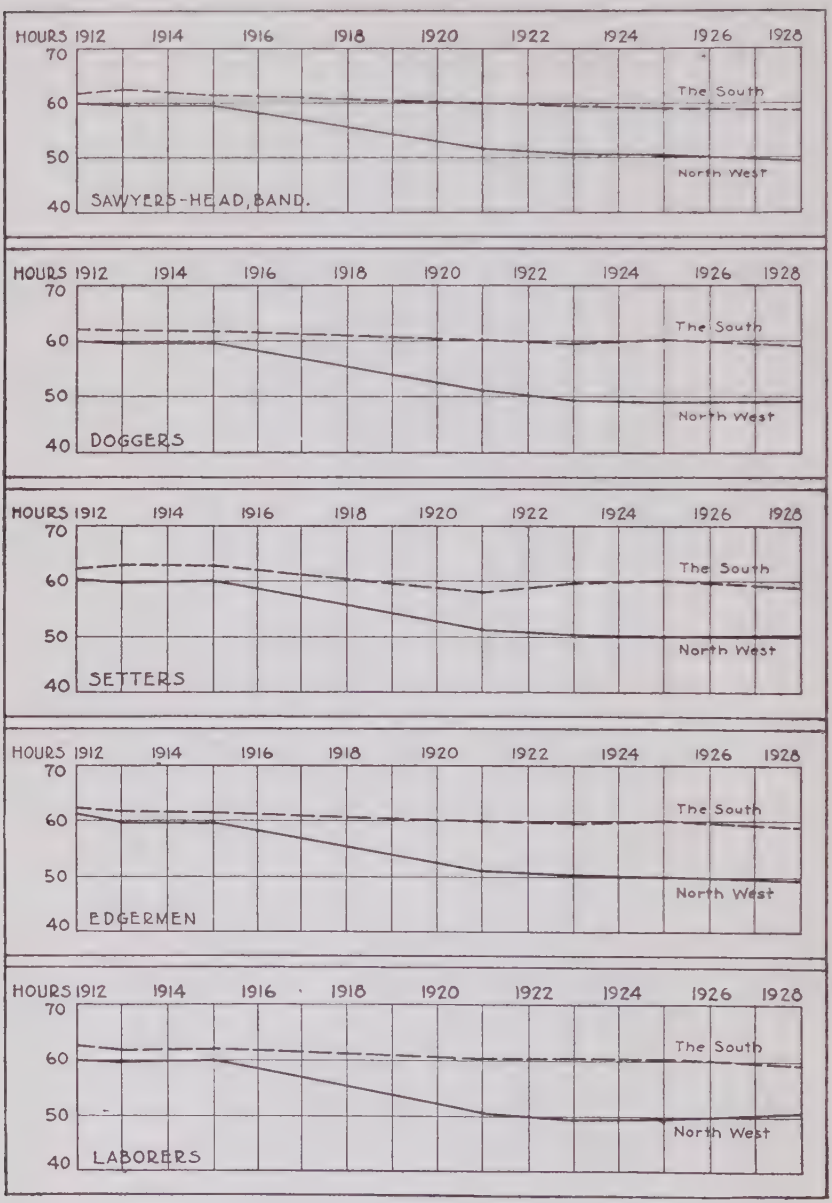
TABLE 15

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY HOURS BY OCCUPATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, THE NORTHWEST, AND THE NORTH

		1912	1913	1915	1921	1923	1925	1928
Sawyers, Head, Band	United States	61.1	60.9	60.9	57.8	57.0	57.7	56.7
	South	61.8	62.4	61.4	60.0	59.7	59.2	59.0
	Northwest	60.0	59.8	59.8	51.5	50.2	50.3	49.5
	North	60.5	60.6	60.5	59.3	59.3	59.4	59.4
Doggers	United States	61.3	61.1	61.2	58.1	57.6	58.2	57.6
	South	61.9	61.6	61.5	60.1	59.8	60.0	59.5
	Northwest	60.0	59.8	59.9	51.2	49.3	49.2	49.3
	North	60.5	60.7	60.7	59.0	59.0	59.2	59.3
Setters	United States	61.2	61.0	61.0	57.6	57.0	57.5	56.5
	South	62.2	61.6	61.6	58.0	59.8	60.0	59.0
	Northwest	60.1	59.8	59.9	51.2	50.1	50.0	50.3
	North	60.5	60.6	60.6	59.4	59.5	59.4	59.3
Saw Tailers on Head Saws	United States	.....	.....	.....	57.5	57.0	57.3	56.4
	South	.....	.....	.....	59.9	59.7	60.0	59.4
	Northwest	.....	.....	.....	51.3	49.9	49.8	49.9
	North	.....	.....	.....	59.3	59.2	59.3	59.3
Edgermen	United States	61.2	61.0	61.0	57.5	57.1	57.8	56.7
	South	62.0	61.5	61.1	60.0	59.8	60.0	59.3
	Northwest	61.1	59.8	59.9	50.7	50.1	50.0	49.8
	North	60.1	60.6	60.5	59.3	59.4	59.5	59.1
Trimmer Operators	United States	61.3	61.0	61.0	57.0	59.9	57.7	.....
	South	62.2	61.7	61.8	59.9	59.4	60.3	.....
	Northwest	60.1	59.9	60.0	50.4	49.9	49.8	.....
	North	60.5	60.6	60.5	59.4	59.5	59.4	.....
Machine Feeders Planing Mills	United States	61.1	61.1	61.1	56.4	57.6	55.8	.....
	South	61.5	61.3	61.5	59.9	60.3	60.3	.....
	Northwest	60.0	59.9	59.8	48.9	48.6	48.9	.....
	North	60.3	60.6	60.7	59.5	59.9	58.9	.....
Laborers	United States	61.5	61.0	61.1	57.2	57.5	57.5	56.9
	South	62.3	61.6	61.7	60.1	60.1	60.1	59.6
	Northwest	60.0	59.8	59.9	50.3	49.7	49.6	50.4
	North	60.5	60.6	60.5	59.5	59.6	59.3	59.4

FIGURE 5

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY HOURS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR THE SOUTH AND THE NORTHWEST—1912-1928



CHAPTER VI

Labor Conditions in the Southern Lumber Camps

ANY discussion of the conditions in the lumber and logging industries must be prefaced by a statement of those factors which tend to make the lumber industry a law unto itself. The primary factor is that a sawmill or a logging camp is in the majority of cases a temporary institution. A letter from the secretary of one of the large companies in Texas states this proposition as clearly as we have seen it and from the point of view of one who is in the business. He says: "I do wish to state in connection with the sawmill operation that about 90 per cent of such manufacturing projects are temporary establishments. In other words, a sawmill operation can last only as long as it has a timber supply. When this supply of raw material is exhausted, there is little left to a sawmill operation that can be classified as much better than junk. In view of these conditions, with which you are doubtless quite familiar, it is always a foregone conclusion when starting a sawmill operation that there is only a limited number of years during which it can be operated. Consequently, the program of construction and development is governed accordingly. Therefore, you can readily realize that a sawmill operation having only a short life cannot very well construct expensive dwellings for its employees, or expend too much in the way of recreational work.

"On the other hand, we endeavor at all times to see that none of our employees, white or black, are ever in actual want, and in cases of illness, we always take care of our employees, even to the extent of major operations and extended periods of confinement in hospitals, at our own expense if this is necessary.

"Summing up briefly what we are trying to convey to you is, that in an operation like we have here, the total life of which is approximately fifteen years, too much cannot be practically expended for development of living conditions of employees, although we endeavor to keep these at as high standard as is well possible, and in cases of want, sickness, or accident, we always endeavor to give our employees the very best there is to be had in the way of providing for them, which includes the best medical and hospital treatments available."

Another large manufacturer says that "owing to this temporary nature, particularly of small sawmill operations, there is usually a

large labor turnover, and this is true principally among the Negroes or common laborers. The sawmill Negro is rather shiftless and is not inclined to stay long in one location and consequently there is little incentive on the part of the operator or owner to carry on welfare work in any extensive manner."

We present these statements, not as excuses for some of the conditions found, but as explanations, very well presented, of why the greater percentage of the southern lumber camps are far from being model villages. Just as stokers must fire boilers in the hot hold of a ship, or as rural families must go without some of the comforts of city life, so conditions make it necessary that in a large part of the southern lumber mills, the workers must live without many of the comforts and conveniences which even the dweller in a cotton mill village finds absolutely essential.

It is of great importance that these factors and conditions be borne in mind throughout the subsequent discussion of the lumber industry in the South, for therein we shall call attention to the facts rather than to the reasons which are inherent to the industry itself.

Though it is extremely difficult to classify the southern lumber mills and logging operations, there is some basis for such classification in the location of the unit. Broadly speaking there are the mills located in a town or city, and there are the mills located in some more or less isolated place near the raw materials. We shall follow that classification in our development of conditions in the lumber industry. The logging division of the work will be treated only generally and in a separate section which will be devoted mainly to descriptions of two types of logging operations. Our study does not include any of the portable or so-called "coffee-pot" mills, but only the larger establishments.

When a sawmill is located some miles from a town or village, it is an absolute necessity that the company furnish some sort of housing facilities for the workers. Furthermore, because the operations are usually very limited, there would be no reason for encouraging the men to buy their own homes. We find, therefore, the "mill village," in the lumber industry, and whatever the truth may be concerning the location of cotton mill villages, certain it is that no desire to dominate the lives of their employees has lead sawmill owners to provide living quarters, company stores, and the like, for the men. The managers have been forced to such a position by the necessity of locating near the industry's raw materials.

As has been previously intimated, there are a number of sawmills in the South which are located in communities where the lumber industry is one of a number of occupations. Twenty-five such plants were visited and information obtained about conditions. Eleven of these twenty-five furnished no housing facilities whatsoever for their workers. Twelve, while not having villages, did own houses, in the city, which they rented to their employees; the other two own and maintain company villages. All of the mills which are located in the country have built and are maintaining some sort of village.

As we shall find in the case of the cotton mill community, generalization, with respect to the sawmill village, is difficult. It is possible for an investigator to see anything that he may wish from a sawmill town which has grown into a small-sized city with a variety of interests, to a small country village composed mostly of unpainted shacks and a commissary. Between these two extremes are all kinds of establishments. The difference depends largely upon the length of time the sawmill will run. When a village is permanent as are some few in the South, the community takes on an air of permanency—the houses are painted, the commissary becomes a department store, and the schools and churches are well built. But if the operations are to last only five or ten years, everyone tries to get along with the least degree of comfort.

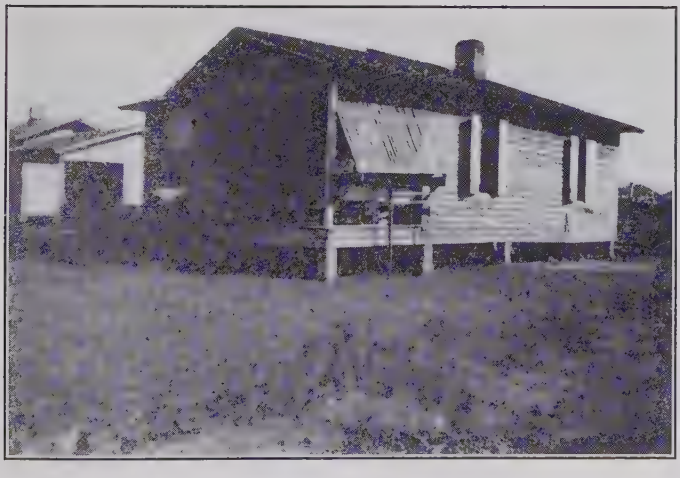
To try to arrive at some conclusion as to the number of each type of village would be impossible without a visit to every lumber camp; yet it is safe to say, as did the operator previously quoted, that ninety per cent of the operations in the lumber industry in the South are temporary in nature. A few descriptions of villages fairly typical of the different kinds which were found, will, perhaps, give a better idea of the way sawmill operators live. In considering these descriptions it must be borne in mind that pine operations are the largest in the South, and that a pine barren is in itself hardly a thing of beauty, especially after the surrounding country has been logged by the destructive steam skidder method, and there remain only broken trunks, snapped off by the skidder, to remind one of the forest which once was there.

Let us start with one of the best types of mills. *A* is among the largest sawmills in the South, and by reason of its large timber holdings and reforestation programs, the community is permanent. The streets are well laid out and a number of them are paved. There are many varieties of houses. All of them are equipped with lights,

running water and baths, either tub or shower. The care of the grounds around the houses is left to the individual householder, but the city and the company combine to beautify the streets. In the center of the community is a large park in the natural state. There is a Y. M. C. A. and a Y. W. C. A., and a large hospital in addition to a rather large department store or commissary run by the company. The Negro section of the company village is, as usual, rather tacky looking in comparison with that part reserved for the whites, but the conditions in this particular community are considerably better than those found in most sawmill towns. For one thing, every Negro's house is painted and is equipped with lights and running water. There is no sewerage in that part of town, however. The company looks after the upkeep of this section and provides a branch Y. M. C. A. which is a social center for the Negroes. The company villages, white and black, form but a part of the town itself. No attempt has been made to keep the community a closed one and, in fact, a live chamber of commerce is constantly attempting to draw new industries to the section, and it has in some measure succeeded. The people, then, need not patronize the company store nor live in the company houses. Many own their own homes in the other section of the town, and judging by the number of stores in the other section, large numbers of the workers trade there also. The town is, though, a sawmill community, a community which is permanent and which has all the earmarks of permanency such as would be found in any unit of like size.

B is a rather isolated village despite the fact that it lies along a main Louisiana highway. It is not a permanent camp or town, although more than usual has been done to make it a livable place. Though pavements are lacking, a car can be driven through the streets without the constant danger of a broken spring. Even though board walks are used instead of stone, those board walks are not traps as in many communities. As is frequently found in several of the southern states, fences are needed around each house so that the animals which are allowed to stray at will, will not disturb the household garden; but in this village, instead of the unpainted, shabby-looking fences so often seen, the fences are painted white, and the yards contain enough planted material to pay to keep the cows out. All of the houses are painted and well kept. A library, a swimming pool, a hotel, and a general meeting room, as well as the churches and schools, are part of the equipment of this particular

The home of a white worker in an isolated sawmill village in Florida.



The home of a Negro worker in the same village. These two cottages are fairly typical of the type of building provided for the workers in the permanent sawmill village.

A portable logging camp in Alabama. The houses are really box cars on wheels and are run on to the siding built for the purpose. Wells are dug, gardens are laid out and the camp settles down for a stay which may last a year or more. This is fairly typical of this type of camp.

A pool room in one of the larger sawmill villages in Florida. It is only in the large and fairly permanent villages that such forms of amusement are usually found.

village. The commissary is a large and well-equipped one. The houses are two-, three- and four-room cottages built on stilts, as is the fashion in that part of the country for cheaper dwellings.

C is an isolated mill in Florida. It is not on any main highway and is about seventeen miles from a town of considerable size. However, seventeen miles in Florida is a short distance, and the workers depend entirely upon the neighboring towns for their entertainment. The village is in rather run-down condition due, according to the superintendent, to the poor business which pervades the lumber industry. There are two streets in the village separated by vacant space. One section is for the colored people, and the other for the white. Neither of the streets is paved, but both have board walks now very badly in need of repair, but which in the past have been kept up. The houses have all been painted at some time, but now need paint badly, and the fences are rather dilapidated. However, every white man's house has sewer connections, which is rather unusual for a small temporary village so many miles away from any city. The school is a small one; the commissary handles little but necessaries; and there are no opportunities offered for any sort of entertainment. Two clubhouses are provided for the Negroes—one for the pious folks whose chief amusement is lodge and revival meetings, and another at the other side of the "quarters" for those Negroes who wish to dance, shoot craps, and carry on in a lighter vein than that offered by the brethren of the cloth.

D is in some ways, one of the worst of the mill villages visited. It is temporary and looks the part. None of the houses are painted; the streets are in very bad shape; there is no sewerage or running water; the only modern convenience provided is electric lights; the commissary reminds one of the stores pictured as belonging to the frontier, and in fact the remark was made that this and several other villages in the same vicinity could almost be used for moving picture sets of a frontier town. Despite its appearance, this village affords a community building—something not very often found in a lumber town. Though there is little equipment for anything but banquets, there is plenty of space for every kind of gathering.

There are many other interesting villages which could be described, but these will suffice to show that except in rare instances, the life in a sawmill town is at best a rude sort of existence. When the village is located near a city or town of some size, the conditions are usually better and the community looks like a cotton mill village of

the better sort. However, we must bear in mind that, though housing conditions are somewhat rude, the life is that of the outdoors, and the mills are located where hunting and fishing are enjoyed. It is the industry itself which makes the living conditions necessary.

There seems to be no standard price or rent for these houses, nor do the owners profess to be humanitarians as do many of the cotton mill owners. The idea seems to be to charge enough for the living quarters so as to be able to wipe out the investment costs during the length of operation of the mill, and as the investment is not very great nor the upkeep an unbearable expense, the rents are correspondingly low. From a dollar and a half to four dollars a room a month seems to be the general charge though some mills charge nothing at all, and others go as high as twenty-five dollars a month for a five- or six-room house. The rents in the "quarter" are usually about half that charged in the white section, and a survey of some of the Negro sections would lead one to believe that even half is too much for what they get. Where there is running water it is always furnished free of charge. Most of the houses—in fact practically all of those in communities visited—are equipped with electric lights. The cost of the service is almost always included in the rental, as we shall find among the cotton mill villages, but some mills charge twenty-five cents a month a "drop." In none of the villages were lights on meters.

Although we have found it hard to generalize on the sawmill village as far as housing is concerned, there are certain institutions found in all but the very exceptional community. One of these is the company doctor. Sixty-two sawmills were visited, some of which have separate units besides the main one on which we called. Of these, forty-seven have company doctors for whose services the men pay fees, and only fifteen have no such arrangement. It would be wrong to say that those fifteen had no contract doctor. Eight of the fifteen have doctors on the pay-roll but under a different arrangement, and the other seven are the only ones which depend upon town doctors for medical services. One of these seven mills is a very small one; one is located in a small trading center and the workers are part of the town; and the other five are mills in large cities, a fact which makes the contract doctor unnecessary.

The plan of employing contract doctors is one that is most often used when the industry is located some distance from the ordinary medical facilities offered by a town or city. In the lumber industry

it seems to have become a custom, and we find a company doctor on the pay-roll of nearly every large mill and on that of many of the smaller ones. Each man on the pay-roll is assessed a certain amount each month, which entitles him and his family to medical attention when needed. The amount of this assessment ranges from fifty cents a month to two dollars and fifty cents, but the usual sum is one dollar for a single man and a dollar and fifty cents for a married man. There are found numerous variations in the general system in the industry as a whole. In some cases the fees cover the services of the physician only; in others, required medicines are furnished; and in some few, free or greatly reduced hospital services are rendered to all men on the pay-roll and to their families. Twenty-one doctors furnish medicines, and seven mill communities have hospitals to which the men and their families are admitted, the cost being included in the fee. One plant has reduced the doctor's fee to a sort of sick insurance. When a man is kept away from work by sickness and is under the doctor's care, the fee he pays includes his receiving half-pay for the time he is away from work. In every case, treatment of the social diseases and of obstetrical cases is extra.

A more detailed study than was possible in this survey would be required before we could pass any satisfactory judgment on the system of contract doctors. The good and the bad points are many and are quite obvious. Nevertheless, however paternalistic or autocratic a system may be which arbitrarily demands a part of a man's wages for medical attention, for the class of men who work in a sawmill and in the lumber camp, and because of the wages they receive, the plan is a blessing when sickness comes to those who would otherwise be improvident. Then too, there is the added benefit that without it the isolated sawmill and camp would in all probability be without medical attention, or at best a humanitarian or a poor physician would serve the people in a small community for the very small fees he could possibly collect. As it is, the job of company doctor seems attractive enough to draw into the industry a good class of men, though of course there are exceptions. The company pays the man a salary to look after the accident cases for them, and they also furnish him with a home; the fees for even a hundred families amount to a considerable sum each month. In addition, a contract doctor is entitled to a private practice in the surrounding countryside and to the fees for the services not included in the blanket medical charge. One president and manager of a medium-sized mill reported that his

company doctor earned more each month than anyone else in the community, not excepting himself. In the words of another manager—"The wages the men receive are not high, but they can get along all right unless there is sickness. The contract doctor is really an insurance feature, and when in addition to the doctor, there is group insurance covering not only death but also health, we feel that the men are really doing something for themselves."

Group insurance for the men is another service which a great many of the sawmill companies render to their men or arrange for the men to provide for themselves. Thirty of the organizations studied provide some sort of policy for the workers; the rest have nothing except that required by the state in the form of Workmen's Compensation Insurance, and four of the states visited have no such requirement. The reason usually given for the non-existence of any form of group insurance is that in the lumber industry the turnover is so great that to carry a policy would be too great an expense without any distinct gain to anyone. The fact that sawmills, especially in the lower South, hire a great number of Negroes, and that class of Negro labor is notoriously itinerant, would lead to the acceptance of the statement of large turnover, but the fact that in two neighboring sawmills apparently hiring the same class of labor, insurance can be found in one and not in the other would seem to show that in all probability the same reasons found in other industries determine whether or not a company will put group insurance in force.

We have spoken of the insurance in force among the sawmills as if it were all of the type known as "group," but as a matter of fact there are several different varieties, including ordinary group life insurance, group health and accident insurance, and pay-roll deduction policies. Fifteen of the companies furnish the insurance without any charge to the employees, and all of those are for life coverage only. Five of the mills have arranged with insurance companies for the pay-roll deduction type of policy. These are for non-occupational accident and health hazards, and are paid for by the men. The system is for the insurance company to sell policies to the workers and have the cost deducted from the pay through the pay-roll office clerk. The other ten companies have policies written according to which the employees pay for part of the cost of the service rendered.

In Mississippi where state Workmen's Compensation laws are still only talked about, a rather strange contributory policy was found. Accidents are numerous in the industry, and for the protection of the

men the company or companies have taken out a group policy which covers occupational accidents and half-pay when a man is out because of such an accident. This is all very well, but the odd part is that the worker must pay about half the cost of the insurance he receives.

The idea of a medical examination for all men hired is not yet a popular one among the southern lumber mills. Only one or two of the plants visited required the doctor to pass upon the physical fitness of the employees before they were hired. These few were quite sure that the plan was an excellent one and saved them a great deal in the long run. In those states where there are no compensation laws it is not unusual, we were told, for one man to try to collect damages from two or three concerns for the same accident. Even in compensation states it is sometimes hard to prove that a condition existed before the man became an employee of the company.

We have found in our discussion of the furniture industry that there is a lack of any sort of planned pension system or benefit association. The same is true for the lumber industry. But as in the case of furniture manufacturing, we must not presume that nothing is done for old employees or for employees temporarily destitute. Each case that comes up is handled on its own individual merits. Sometimes money is loaned to a man needing aid; in other cases credit is advanced from the company store; then again collections are taken among the fellow employees and the company is asked to add to these donations. When the sawmills are located in large cities or even smaller incorporated units, a city chest or associated charities is likely to take over the work that might otherwise be performed by the mill officials themselves. Of course the mill contributes largely to the support of these agencies of relief, but instead of the direct contact which would come through personal loans or collections, there is the indirectness of an outside organization. Only two of the mills visited have mutual benefit associations for the handling of local cases of temporary dependency. In both of these cases the companies have joined with the men to make up a common fund to help those who need help. In general, however, cases are dealt with in a very haphazard manner, but in the small mill community such a system is probably just as satisfactory as any elaborate expensive organization. The mill community is no different from any other small community in that everyone knows everyone's else business and difficulties, and that everyone is willing to help the others if they need it. So, to quote our correspondent again, the mills "endeavor at all times to see that

none of our employees, white or black, are ever in actual want, and in cases of illness, we always take care of our employees, even to the extent of major operations and extended periods of confinement in hospitals, at our own expense if this is necessary."

The problem of the aged employee is handled in much the same unplanned manner. Some of the mill officials frankly admitted that when a man became too old to work, some one other than the mills had to take care of him. That attitude was not usual, however. In general "we handle every case on its individual merits" was the answer received. With a controlling interest in the housing and the commissary, a cash payment by the mill to the old employee is not often undertaken. Probably the plan most generally followed is that of keeping the old employee on the pay-roll and giving him a task to do which will not try his strength but which will enable him to earn a little something. Two or three organizations have definitely put such payments in a pension account while the others have left it in the regular pay-roll. One company pays a dollar a day to such superannuated employees. In any event, the workers are taken care of in case they need help.

The work in a sawmill and in a logging camp is dangerous to a much greater degree than in a cotton mill, or even in a furniture plant. It would be expected then that both from a humanitarian and a business point of view, safety work would be a very important part of the employee relations carried on between the managers and the men. This expectation we found to be very true since safety and safety methods were stressed in practically every mill visited.

There are many ways of dealing with the problem of safety—some very simple and others very elaborate; but every mill visited had some sort of program. The most popular method is to depend upon the insurance companies for help. This is forthcoming in the form of posters, which are frequently changed, and which attempt to convey to the men some idea of what they should not do if they would be safe, and also what will happen to themselves and their families if they are careless. In addition to these posters, the insurance companies send out inspectors who regularly go over the plants, make suggestions, and give ratings. The inspectors are experts and have done a great deal towards cutting down the number of accidents.

All of the plants have this insurance inspection, unless they carry their own liability insurance, which very few do. Besides this feature, eight have organized safety committees which meet regularly to

discuss safety appliances and measures. Twelve mills have rather elaborate programs for safety. Several have safety directors who look after everything of that nature and also act as leaders in the welfare programs which happen to be carried on at the mill. These men hold safety meetings, safety contests, show moving pictures which emphasize safety, and keep accident records. Besides these duties, they look after the house-renting, and act as general go-betweens for the employer and the employee. In other words, the safety work is made the foundation for all the welfare and community work which is carried on. We have seen the results of some of these safety campaigns and they are truly remarkable. One plant had reduced the number of accidents 70 per cent within the three years that safety had been stressed. Certainly this is one very effective means of making for better relations between company and worker.

Welfare work in the lumber camps and sawmill towns, similar to that found in the cotton mill towns, is practically non-existent. This is not strange as a welfare program of that kind is an expensive luxury, and not profitable for an industry which normally is so short-lived. Many of the mills have some of the activities often associated with the idea of welfare work, but in no community visited was there a planned system in charge of a department of the company, except where that community had become part of an incorporated town and a local Y. M. C. A. had taken over such activities. Of course in "one-industry" towns, the "Y" is supported mostly by that industry, but the work in such places is not a part of the company's activities. Thirty-four of our examples can be included in that group which have something, be it large or small, in the way of community activities of the recreational type. Twenty-five of these have club houses of one sort or another. Usually these houses have rooms for lodge meetings and women's club meetings, a pool room, and a reading room. One village has a fairly large library; another has a domestic science teacher who goes around to help the colored people learn the best ways to keep house; and a third has a Y. M. C. A. with the equipment usually found in such an organization. The company having the domestic science teacher does more in a direct way for the workers than does any other plant visited. Besides providing this paid worker, the mill arranges for fairs, chautauquas or lyceums, and other similar forms of amusement. Twenty plants have some kind of organized sports with the company usually furnishing, or partly furnishing, equipment and grounds. Baseball is the usual athletic activ-

ity, though one or two mills have golf courses for workers in the office and in the plant, several have tennis courts, and at least one has a swimming pool. As has been said before, this welfare recreational work is not as necessary if the mills are located in cities. Hunting and fishing are favorite sports among the southern sawmill workers.

Again on account of the nature of the industry, the company store is in most cases a vital necessity. As we have mentioned so many times, the mills are almost always located away from any other community, with the result that if the people are to be able to buy goods for their needs, a store must be maintained. We are convinced that this, and not the desire to exploit their employees, has been the reason for the establishment of these stores, for despite the many unflattering epithets which are hurled at the commissary, we did not find a one of them which charged prices in excess of those charged in the ordinary credit store, and many of them maintain cash store prices on groceries and meats. In Chapter IX prices are given which were collected on a personal visit; they show no unusual prices among the company stores.

When the company has its operations in a town or village of some size, the company store is not commonly found, though in several cases the commissary was the department store which supplied the village, competing in every case with independent stores. We did not attempt to investigate the records of these establishments, but the managers of the mills usually admitted on questioning that the store did not pay. To what extent competition and poor store management are responsible for this condition, we are unable to say, though they doubtless play a more important part than low prices.

We can find any sort of commissary from a small, box-like building stocking only the barest necessities, to a modern, two-story department store handling a complete line of everything from fat back to pianos. Usually, however, the store is a one-story building with an iron stove in the middle, around which the workers congregate after hours. There is a good stock of groceries and canned goods. Fresh vegetables are not so often found in the store, but the weather is such that, except along the northern boundaries of the region, the men can grow their own things all winter long. The meat department is always screened in and handles usually two grades of meat—local and western. There is almost always an adequate supply of dry goods and notions such as one might see in any country store, but the ready-made clothing stock is very poor, and no furniture whatever is han-

dled. The commissaries handle only necessities for the workers. The ordinary custom with regard to fuel is to allow the men to carry off as much scrap wood as they wish, but to charge them a dollar to a dollar and a half a load for delivering it.

As in most communities, the churches and the schools play a very important part in the lives of the people of the sawmill villages. Those who condemn the relation between the cotton mill preacher and the boss would certainly find little to praise in the church relationship of the sawmill town. The average sawmill town is smaller than a cotton mill village, and without aid from the mill, the church facilities would be poor indeed, especially since the different denominations could not possibly worship God under the same leadership. As with every other factor, so with this one—it is impossible to generalize accurately. We have found that all of the companies whose plants are out from corporate communities help the churches in some way, but the ways vary considerably, not so much in kind as in degree. The methods are three—a donation is given monthly or annually, according to the needs of the church; the church buildings are built either in whole or in part, and a donation made periodically; or the minister is placed on the pay-roll of the company and donations received from the men for as much as they wish to contribute. These methods are mentioned in the order of their importance, the last being found in but a very few cases. It was, of course, impossible to ascertain how much each mill paid for the support of the churches, or how much control they sought to exercise over the teachings and preachings of the ministers. One manager informed us that the white preachers were never told anything about their work, but the colored preachers were asked to impress upon their flocks the fact that the company expected six days of work from each employee. It is probably a dangerous system to have the company financially interested to such an extent in the churches, especially if the church has the power in the South that we have been led to believe it has. But under the circumstances, there would be no other way for the people to get religious teaching and training. Only a very careful investigation of the mill church would show whether this system has been abused.

With regard to the schools, much the same condition is found among the sawmill communities as we shall find to exist among the cotton mill villages, namely, when the county can afford to furnish adequate schools for a sufficient length of time or when the mill is

satisfied with whatever the county has to offer, nothing is done to give additional educational facilities to the children. However, when the county is too poor to furnish good schools for the children, or when the mill has a high standard impossible for the county to reach, financial aid is forthcoming. Only twenty of the mills visited have done or are doing anything to supplement the educational funds of the county. Seven of these furnish the buildings for the schools, and the other thirteen donate substantial amounts to keep the school open longer than usual, or to furnish more and better teachers. We have compared the sawmill schools with the cotton mill schools, but here again we must caution against making such a comparison. The operation is not permanent and the schools are therefore not such fine-looking establishments as are found in many cotton mill communities. Seven other mills helped the county schools at their logging operations, though they used the city and town schools at the mill. The lumber companies have donated where needed, but not to the extent that the cotton mill managers have.

Only twenty-four of the plants fail to have some kind of facilities for boarding those men, both white and colored, who desire board. Not all run the boarding house or hotel as a company proposition. In several instances the company furnishes all the equipment for some private person to run the boarding house and the company also controls both the price and the service rendered. For no apparent reason, there is a considerable variation in prices charged the workers. In other words, two mills close to each other may charge different prices for board and room. The lowest rate which we found was sixty-five cents a day for board alone, and the highest thirty-two dollars and fifty cents a month for board and room. The usual price for white men is a dollar a day for board and room, and seventy-five cents for Negroes for the same service. The boarding houses themselves range from a camp car with meager equipment for cooking and berths for the men, to glorified hotels such as are usually found in country towns. The investigator only had the opportunity to eat at one camp boarding house; but the food served there would lead one to wonder how they can afford to give such board for a dollar a day. The men all sat down on long benches around a long table. Before each was a tin plate, a tin cup, a knife, a fork, and a spoon. At short distances down the table were grouped the dishes of food. There was certainly an abundance of food, well cooked, and in sufficient variety. For example, we had Irish stew, escaloped potatoes, apple sauce,

baked beans, cabbage salad, bread and butter, pickled beets, baked corn, snaps with bacon, coffee, pie, and cake. The service was crude, but it was at a camp situated about thirty miles from any village. The table manners, too, were probably not as good as those which would be found at the hotel of the sawmill village, but the food was substantial and wholesome, and the price very reasonable.

No attempt was made to see the logging operations of every sawmill visited, but questioning the managers seemed to show that they run true to certain types. There are two large classifications which can be made: temporary or portable, and permanent. The permanent camp is much the same as the ordinary sawmill village—unpainted houses, a boarding house, a commissary, the schools and the churches, and the office building. The portable camp is made up of box cars which can be picked up by the loader and put on a flat car. The camp site is selected and each man is assigned as many of these cars as he wishes. The different cars are then connected with hallways, wells are dug, gardens fenced in, and the people are ready to "camp out" until the next move. Sometimes, as is shown by photograph opposite page 57, the cars are left on the wheels, this depending, of course, on the length of time the camp is to be located in a certain place. If the camp is a large one, a car is provided for a school, but usually the children are transported to the nearest country or consolidated school. The religious life is rather neglected in these portable camps. Sometimes the preacher in the nearest church will come and hold meetings, but usually in this type of logging camp men must look to the trees and streams for their religious inspiration.

The material wants of the people are supplied by the commissary car which is a sort of branch of the main company store. In one camp, the car was sent up twice a week with a general supply of commodities, and the people could order as they wished. The life in these camps is a rude and isolated one, but the condition is one that must exist in such an industry under a system of a number of small operations based on the available timber supply.

The average southern sawmill gives a man very little in addition to his wages. The mill houses are poor ones, and the low rentals can hardly be considered as donations, as the cotton mill owners consider theirs. In fact, the companies, while they do not make money on their villages, do try to amortize the principal over the life of the operation. The commissaries are not intended to make money, but neither are they supposed to lose. The same is true with boarding

houses. As for the group insurance, we must draw the same conclusions in this industry that we did in connection with the others, namely, that it is a fine thing for the employers to give insurance to their employees; but to consider that donation about which the employee has nothing to say as an augmentation of his wage is contrary to the spirit which first prompted the writing of such a policy.

We must conclude, therefore, that the money wage of the sawmill worker is practically his actual wage as far as the company is concerned. Cost of living may be lower than in an ordinary industrial community, but that is due to local conditions rather than to the management of the plant. The mill takes care of the workers if they need taking care of, but they do not as a rule enter on any extensive welfare programs, whether they are needed or wanted by the employees.

CHAPTER VII

Wages and Hours in the Cotton Textile Industry

"LOOK at these figures," said a prominent Massachusetts manufacturer in referring to the periodic wage reports of the labor department of that state. "You can pick out the cotton mill cities by the low average weekly wage." This statement is true. North and South, the wages in this great industry are low—very low—in comparison with the other major industries of the country. There is need for a complete monograph devoted to the reasons behind such a phenomenon, but our task will be to state the facts of the comparative position of cotton mill wages in the southern states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; and the New England states of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

That a difference in pay does exist between these two great cloth producing centers is a fact that is constantly being drawn to our attention. Humanitarians and other well-meaning citizens devote much time and effort to disclosing the undisputed truth that the mill workers in the South receive pay which is not only pitifully low, but which is several dollars a week less than the pay for similar services in the North. The southern manufacturer is relegated still further down the scale of comparison when additional data are presented to prove that the mill worker of the South must work from an hour to two hours a day longer than his northern neighbor.

On the other hand, some of the southern manufacturers, and more especially some of their more militant spokesmen and defenders, write many editorials combating the statements of those who are said to know nothing of the conditions in the industry. These unofficial spokesmen point out that whereas it is true that the actual money in an employee's envelope is less in the South than in the North, there are certain very tangible services which the southern worker receives which offset, and sometimes more than offset, the differences in dollars and cents. These services are usually mentioned as "very cheap house rent of the company houses, fuel at cost, and other things." In the words of the National Industrial Conference Board: "The wage data here given relate to cash payments only and do not take into consideration the value of such wage equivalents as reduced or free house rents, or other special services rendered by the companies

to employees. Various forms of wage equivalents are in use in industrial establishments in many localities and they are almost universal in the Southern cotton mill districts." [1]

We are almost always left to guess what lies behind "other things," and those who have seen the mills usually guess that the company-supported schools, the vast welfare systems, and the medical work, must be what is meant.

The following chapter will be devoted to a discussion of our findings in regard to the extras provided by the mill owners. This chapter will be a study of the various pay-roll differences between the South and New England.

Our sources for wage and hour data are the various periodic publications of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor. For information used which antedates the formation of that department, we have relied on several bulletins of the Bureau of Labor of the Department of Commerce.

We have selected twelve occupational divisions as being fairly typical of the industry as a whole. These were not arbitrarily picked, for we have used the twelve divisions on which the Bureau of Labor first obtained figures and which are found in every report since the first. More recently, data are secured for every section of the industry, but for our purposes, twelve were deemed sufficient. These twelve are: card tenders and strippers (male); drawing-frame tenders (male); drawing-frame tenders (female); speeder tenders (male); speeder tenders (female); loom fixers (male); slasher tenders (male); frame spinners (male); frame spinners (female); trimmers or inspectors (female); weavers (male); and weavers (female).

The information concerning the hours and wages of these workers is given in the Department bulletins by states, and for each state is given the number of workers included in the average presented. This latter information has made it possible for us to compile a weighted average by the number of workers in that state, and then dividing the sum of those totals by the total number of wage earners in the section.

In the working out of these weighted averages for the two sections, it was found, in the early years especially, that sometimes there were not enough figures given in certain occupations to enable us to compile the average for the section. In such cases blanks have been left,

1. National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. "Wages in the United States" p. 28. New York, 1926.

as for example in Table 16, there are no hourly wage rates given for male speeder tenders until 1914.

For ready reference we list the summary tables we have compiled.

Table 16—Average hourly wage by occupation for the United States, the South, and New England, and the standing of the South and New England as compared with the average for the United States for specified years from 1907 to 1928. Yearly average for the United States = 100.

Table 17—Average hourly rates by states for the twelve selected occupations combined, 1913-1928.

Table 18—Average hourly wage by occupation showing the comparative bi-yearly changes for the United States, the South, and New England for specified years from 1907 to 1928. Sectional average for 1913 = 100.

Table 19—Average full-time weekly earnings by occupation for the United States, the South, and New England, and the standing of the South and New England as compared with the average for the United States for specified years from 1907 to 1928. Yearly average for the United States = 100.

Table 20—Average full-time weekly earnings showing the comparative bi-yearly changes for the United States, the South, and New England. Sectional average for 1913 = 100.

Table 21—Average full-time weekly hours and average actual hours worked per week, 1918-1928.

Table 22—Average actual weekly earnings by occupation for the United States, the South, and New England, and the bi-yearly standing of the South and New England as compared with the average for the United States, 1918-1928. Yearly average for the United States = 100.

Table 23—Average full-time weekly earnings by occupation for the United States, the South, and New England, and the bi-yearly standing of the South and New England as compared with the average for the United States, 1918-1928. Yearly average for the United States = 100.

It will be noticed that the information given in Table 19 is also found in Table 23. This is tabulated twice for the purpose of giving

in Table 23 figures which are in every way comparable, and in a form easily comparable with the data in Table 22. Let us now consider these tables one at a time to see what the facts really are in the much discussed South and New England cotton mill wage controversy.

Table 16 gives the hourly wage of the textile workers we are studying. Too much dependence should not be put on the comparative yearly standing as shown by the index number in column A since it is based on the relation between the average for the United States and the sectional average, and since that average is made up of a different proportion each year of the two sections. As the cotton industry in the South becomes more important than that of New England, the averages, of course, are weighted more on the side of the South than of the North.

Probably the most important things to note in this table are the actual hourly wage figures. The South, of course, is very low, and changes in the southern and New England rates have followed each other consistently throughout the years from 1907 to 1926. When the wages increased in one section, they increased in the other, and when they went down in one, they went down in the other. On pages 78 and 79 (Figures 9 and 10) graphs are presented to show these increases and decreases on a percentage basis. For the present, the changes in the wage rates between 1926 and 1928 would seem to be somewhat significant. For the first year, we notice a consistent change in the previously parallel trends. In 1928, with the exception of two occupations, the wage rate in the South advanced, and the rate in New England decreased. The rate for the male speeder tenders in New England did not decrease and the rate for female spinners in the South did not increase.

The changes in rates are nothing very startling, in several cases amounting to only a few tenths of a cent, but it may be that those small changes indicate that wages in the South are beginning an upward swing. Nevertheless, they have far to go before they reach even the present New England average.

In this connection, Table 17 and Figure 6 offer some interesting comparisons. Table 17 shows the average rates per hour by states for the total of our twelve selected occupations. It is evident from this that the southern states should not be condemned without reservation for their low wages, nor should the New England states, on the other hand, be similarly praised. We see that the rates in Maine are consistently lower than the rates in the other northern states, and

AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE BY OCCUPATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES FOR SPECIFIED Y

Occupation		1907 A	1907 B	1909 A	1909 B	1911 A	1911 B	1913 A	1913 B
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	U. S.	100.	$.131	100.	$.121	100.	$.121	100.	$.138
	South	78.	.103	83.	.100	86.	.104	85.	.116
	New Eng.	107.	.141	105.	.127	106.	.127	106.	.146
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	U. S.	100.	.109	100.	.099	100.	.097	100.	.109
	South	79.	.079	83.	.082	91.	.088	89.	.097
	New Eng.	115.	.115	115.	.113	113.	.109	115.	.126
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	U. S.	100.	.093	100.	.091	100.	.095	100.	.114
	South	75.	.069	77.	.070	80.	.076	87.	.099
	New Eng.	108.	.100	107.	.097	103.	.097	102.	.117
Speeder tenders, (male)	U. S.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	South	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	New Eng.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Speeder tenders, (female)	U. S.	100.	.139	100.	.135	100.	.136	100.	.151
	South	81.	.113	87.	.117	84.	.115	85.	.128
	New Eng.	106.	.147	106.	.132	105.	.143	104.	.158
Loom fixers, (male)	U. S.	100.	.207	100.	.197	100.	.203	100.	.227
	South	77.	.159	83.	.164	80.	.162	77.	.173
	New Eng.	118.	.245	118.	.223	112.	.227	112.	.254
Slasher tenders, (male)	U. S.	100.	.183	100.	.180	100.	.194	100.	.211
	South	68.	.125	73.	.131	71.	.138	68.	.144
	New Eng.	117.	.215	181.	.212	116.	.224	120.	.253
Frame spinners, (male)	U. S.	100	.124	100.	.117	100.	.126	100.	.142
	South	73.	.090	66.	.078	80.	.100	77.	.110
	New Eng.	115.	.142	117.	.137	103.	.129	107.	.153
Frame spinners, (female)	U. S.	100.	.110	100.	.106	100.	.111	100.	.129
	South	76.	.084	92.	.087	83.	.092	80.	.102
	New Eng.	121.	.134	121.	.129	116.	.129	116.	.147
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	U. S.	100.	.102	100.	.109	100.	.103	100.	.111
	South	73.	.074	83.	.083	81.	.084	83.	.092
	New Eng.	114.	.116	110.	.109	113.	.116	114.	.127
Weavers, (male)	U. S.	100.	.161	100.	.151	100.	.156	100.	.169
	South	78.	.126	86.	.130	87.	.136	93.	.144
	New Eng.	114.	.183	111.	.167	108.	.168	101.	.187
Weavers, (female)	U. S.	100.	.151	100.	.144	100.	.148	100.	.164
	South	75.	.114	82.	.118	84.	.124	76.	.125
	New Eng.	108.	.163	106.	.153	104.	.154	114.	.171

A. Comparative yearly standing. B. Actual hourly wage.

THE STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND AS COMPARED WITH THE YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

1918		1920		1922		1924		1926		1928	
A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
100.	$.267	100.	$.471	100.	$.325	100.	$.356	100.	$.322	100.	$.314
73.	.195	85.	.399	75.	.245	76.	.269	79.	.253	83.	.260
113.	.301	118.	.554	127.	.413	131.	.465	131.	.416	129.	.405
100.	.199	100.	.427	100.	.270	100.	.295	100.	.279	100.	.282
89.	.178	96.	.411	90.	.244	91.	.268	92.	.258	93.	.262
128.	.255	116.	.496	126.	.341	134.	.396	127.	.355	124.	.351
100.	.210	100.	.371	100.	.276	100.	.311	100.	.281	100.	.272
68.	.143	78.	.289	64.	.178	65.	.203	74.	.198	75.	.204
107.	.225	107.	.396	110.	.304	113.	.351	113.	.317	115.	.313
100.	.265	100.	.533	100.	.358	100.	.394	100.	.343	100.	.345
87.	.230	93.	.497	94.	.336	86.	.339	91.	.313	92.	.317
132.	.349	120.	.638	134.	.480	135.	.530	134.	.459	134.	.464
100.	.276	100.	.486	100.	.369	100.	.411	100.	.368	100.	.359
70.	.193	85.	.415	75.	.277	72.	.296	75.	.275	79.	.285
107.	.294	105.	.511	109.	.401	107.	.441	113.	.415	106.	.380
100.	.391	100.	.685	100.	.500	100.	.533	100.	.489	100.	.482
71.	.278	86.	.587	77.	.384	75.	.414	80.	.391	83.	.399
118.	.461	114.	.788	123.	.316	125.	.691	128.	.624	124.	.600
100.	.342	100.	.579	100.	.426	100.	.467	100.	.411	100.	.396
66.	.226	81.	.471	72.	.305	72.	.334	71.	.317	82.	.323
120.	.410	122.	.707	130.	.555	132.	.617	131.	.539	129.	.512
100.	.249	100.	.475	100.	.292	100.	.369	100.	.289	100.	.339
60.	.150	70.	.332	65.	.189	58.	.215	69.	.200	62.	.210
117.	.292	112.	.533	131.	.382	136.	.501	148.	.428	122.	.415
100.	.233	100.	.427	100.	.301	100.	.319	100.	.292	100.	.276
74.	.173	87.	.371	74.	.224	74.	.235	79.	.222	83.	.228
121.	.281	116.	.496	126.	.378	133.	.425	131.	.369	130.	.359
100.	.184	100.	.333	100.	.246	100.	.268	100.	.246	100.	.241
74.	.136	87.	.290	76.	.186	75.	.201	82.	.202	86.	.208
113.	.208	109.	.363	118.	.290	119.	.319	113.	.279	112.	.270
100.	.302	100.	.573	100.	.389	100.	.449	100.	.396	100.	.392
67.	.235	92.	.528	66.	.313	70.	.373	84.	.333	87.	.341
104.	.342	106.	.610	107.	.461	108.	.538	118.	.466	114.	.447
100.	.285	100.	.528	100.	.380	100.	.429	100.	.375	100.	.371
82.	.201	87.	.457	82.	.255	87.	.313	79.	.298	83.	.308
120.	.314	105.	.554	121.	.417	125.	.486	114.	.427	112.	.417

FIGURE 6

AVERAGE HOURLY RATES BY STATES FOR THE TWELVE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS COMBINED—1928

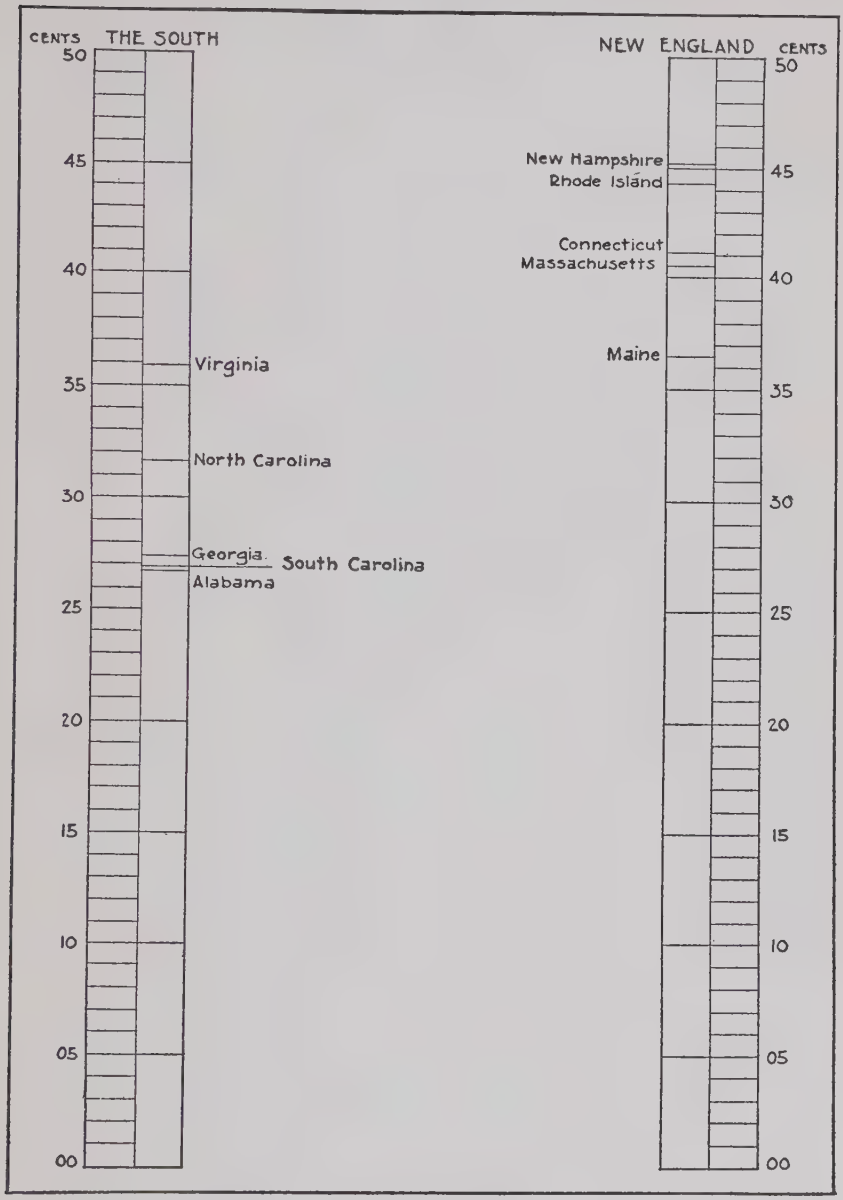


TABLE 17

AVERAGE HOURLY RATES BY STATES FOR THE TWELVE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS COMBINED, 1913-1928

Year	The South	The Southern States: Alabama	Georgia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Virginia
1913	$.128	$.122	$.130	$.132	$.126	$.....
1914	.123	.117	.123	.128	.124	.....
1916	.140	.138	.138	.149	.135	.....
1918	.207	.195	.198	.227	.201	.....
1920	.453	.362	.418	.525	.462	.424
1922	.283	.230	.285	.320	.253	.369
1924	.308	.276	.275	.347	.279	.445
1926	.285	.266	.272	.308	.264	.317
1928	.291	.267	.273	.317	.269	.359

	New England	The New England States: Connecticut	Maine	Massachusetts	New Hampshire	Rhode Island
1913	$.173	$.....	$.166	$.169	$.179	$.....
1914	.172	.....	.....	.169	.179	.....
1916	.215	.....	.199	.211	.227	.....
1918	.318	.....	.325	.309	.322	.....
1920	.558	.557	.532	.558	.576	.552
1922	.429	.414	.399	.433	.439	.429
1924	.491	.485	.425	.499	.498	.501
1926	.420	.381	.361	.427	.460	.435
1928	.414	.411	.365	.405	.452	.443

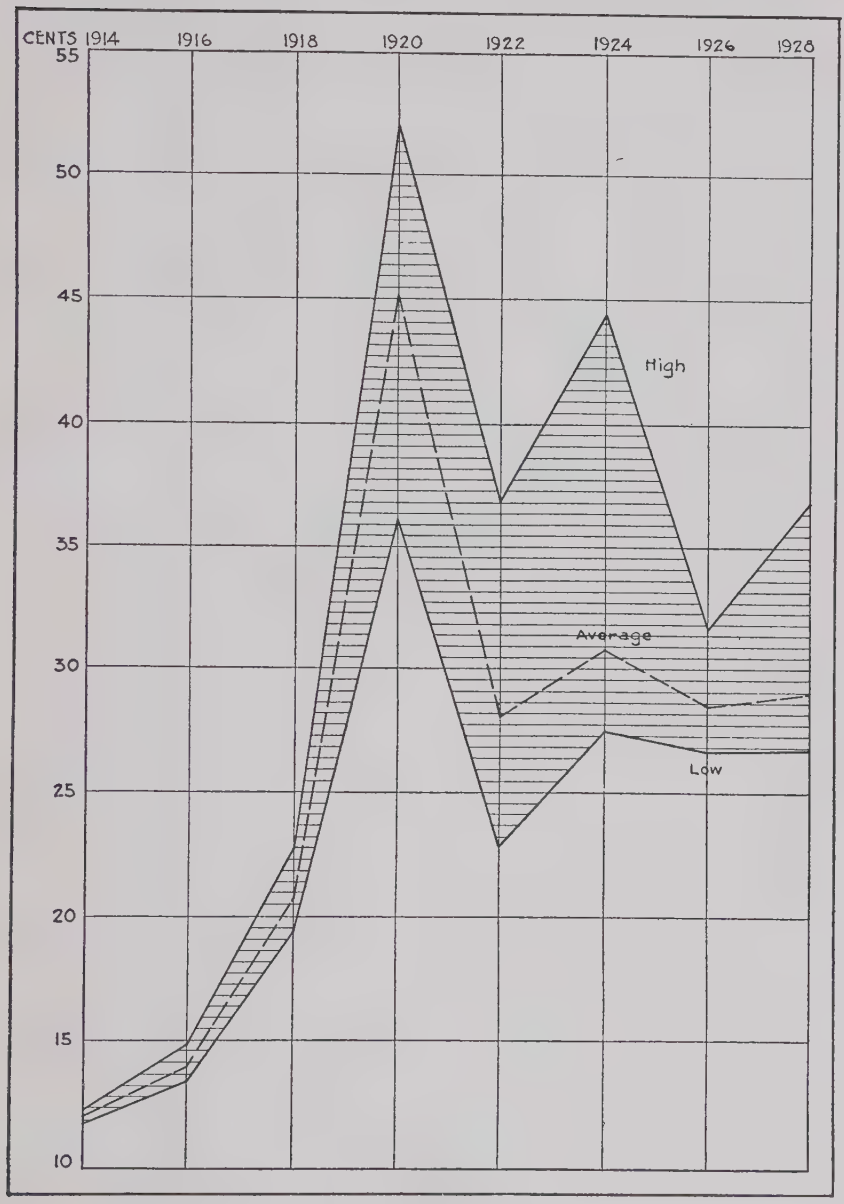
that the rates in Virginia, with the exception of 1920 when North Carolina forged ahead, are consistently higher than the other southern states. Figure 6 pictures the situation for the year 1928. The rates in Maine and Virginia are within one cent of being equal, but there is a difference of nine and a half cents an hour between the rates in Virginia and the rates in Alabama, and a difference of eight and a half cents between the rates in Maine and those in New Hampshire.

Considering only the South, we see that the rates seem to vary with the latitude. Alabama is lowest, with an hourly rate of twenty-six and a half cents. Georgia and South Carolina are at the same point with a rate of twenty-seven and a half cents per hour, the North Carolina rate is thirty-one and a half cents, and the Virginia rate is thirty-six cents.

In Figure 7 we have traced the trend of the wage rates in the South for the years 1914-1928, showing the average rate for the section of the twelve occupations combined and also the high and the

FIGURE 7

THE SOUTH—AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE OF TWELVE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS COMBINED SHOWING THE HIGHEST, THE LOWEST, AND THE AVERAGE RATE FOR THE SECTION—1914-1928



low rates for the section. The situation which would be best for the workers would be for the average rate to continue to become higher, and for the variation between the high and low points to tend to decrease; for such a situation would mean that the industry was becoming more stable and standardized, and that practically all the workers were receiving more nearly the wage generally considered necessary by sociologists for the maintenance of at least a fair subsistence level. From the graph it is obvious that the rate has slowly increased during the last two years, but the difference between the lowest and highest rates has increased considerably since 1926.

A similar study of the situation in New England (Figure 8) shows that wages in that section of the country have declined in the last two years. Unfortunately for the wage earners, the previously mentioned situation has come about more on account of a decline in the highest average, than a rise in the lowest average.

Another matter of interest in the study of the wage rates is the rate of increase or decrease over a chosen period. Using the sectional average of 1913 as 100, we have worked out an index number in each section for each occupation showing the percentage of increase over the base year. These figures are given in Table 18. In Figures 9 and 10, we have charted these changes for six of the twelve occupations. A glance at these diagrams will reveal the fact that, with the exception of the male speeder tenders, the trends for each occupation for the last two years have been the same, namely, that the rate of increase in New England and the South have tended to come nearer together. Since 1922, except in the case of male weavers, the rates of change have more or less paralleled one another, with New England continually holding the high place; but within the last two years, the previously-mentioned trend has become evident.

For those who prefer the full-time earnings per week rather than the rate per hour, we have given the rates for the period from 1907 to 1928 in Tables 19 and 20. They show the same trends as the hourly rate figures, namely, a decrease in the wages of the New England worker, and an increase in the wages of the southern cotton mill wage earner.

In Table 21 are given the figures for the hours of labor, both full-time and actual, in the United States and in the two sections, from 1918 to 1928. Figures 11 and 12 show this information for six of the listed occupations.

FIGURE 8

NEW ENGLAND—AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE OF TWELVE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS COMBINED SHOWING THE HIGHEST, THE LOWEST, AND THE AVERAGE RATE FOR THE SECTION—1914-1928

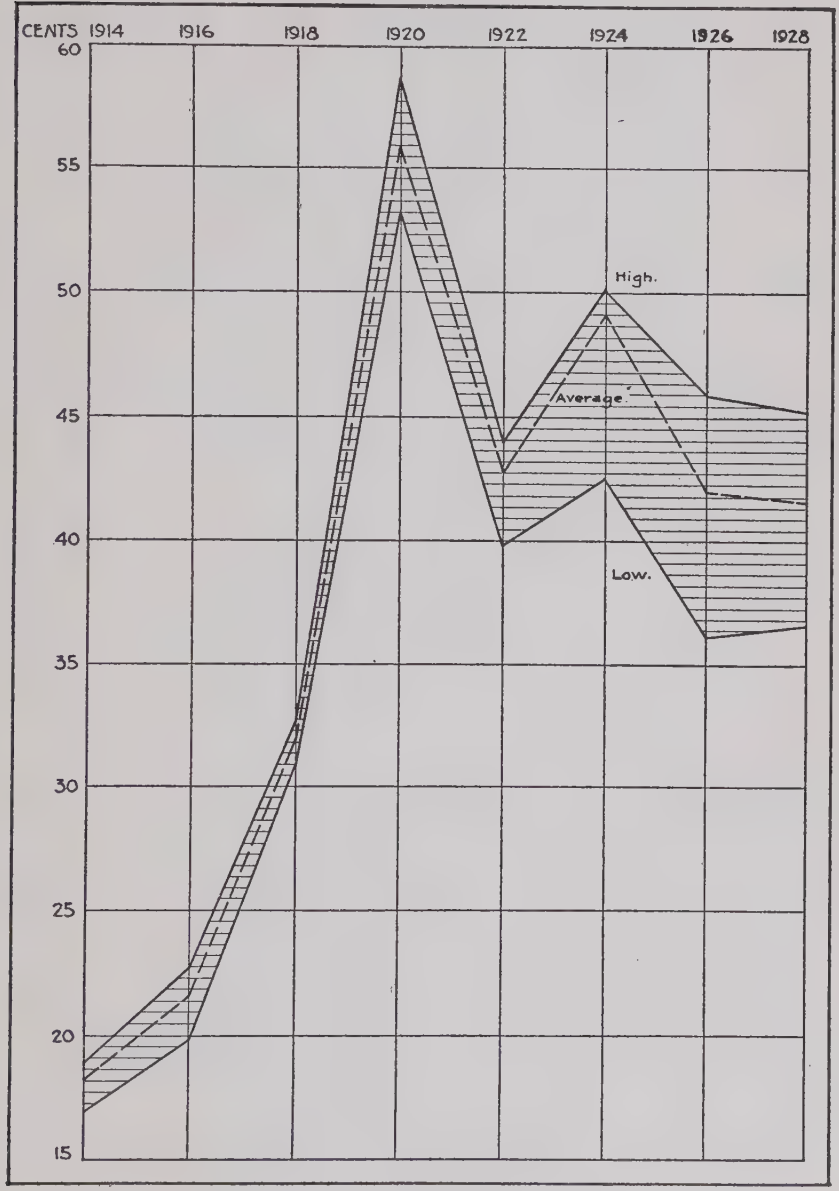
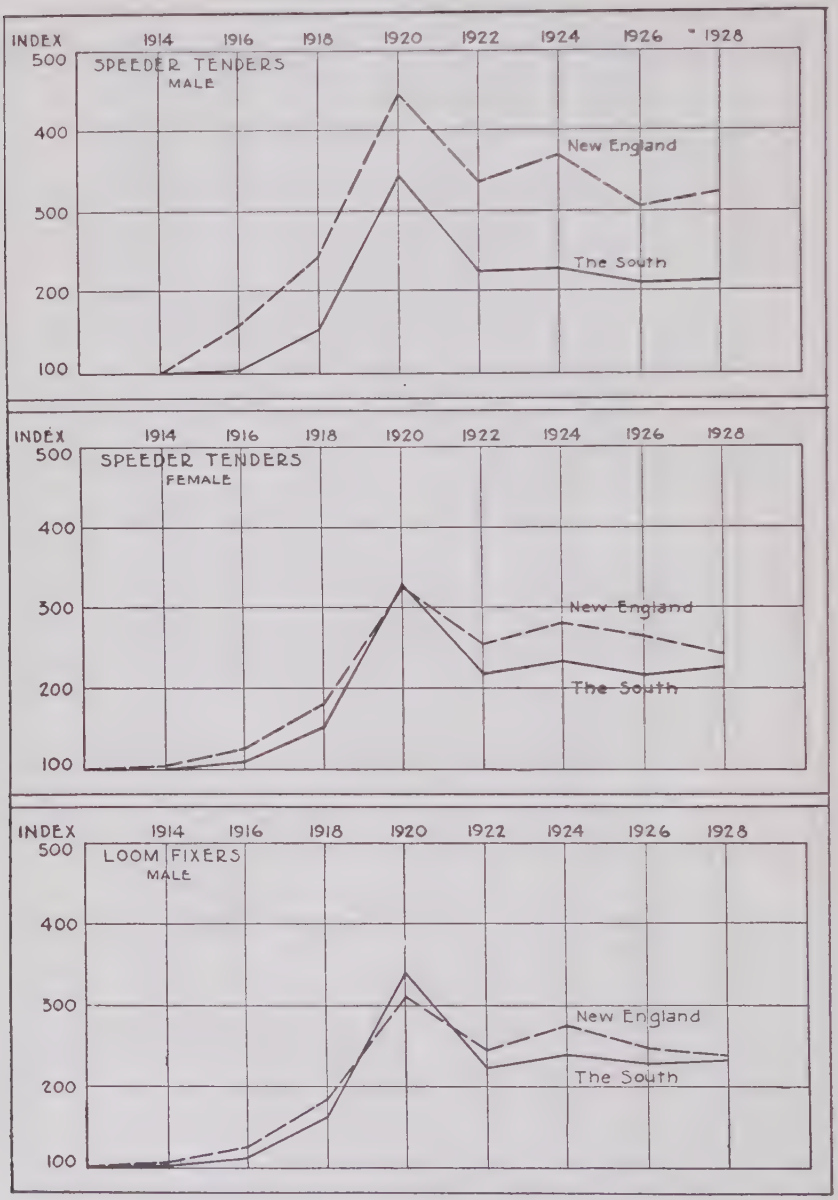


FIGURE 9

AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE BY OCCUPATION SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE INCREASES AND DECREASES FOR THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND—1913-1928.
SECTION AVERAGE FOR 1913=100



AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS BY OCCUPATION FOR THE U
COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED ST

Occupation		1907 A	1907 B	1909 A	1909 B	1911 A	1911 B	19 A
Card tenders and stripers, (male)	U. S.	100.	$7.86	100.	$7.16	100.	$7.05	100.
	South	83.	6.55	87.	6.23	92.	6.47	89.
	N. E.	103.	8.13	103.	7.39	103.	7.23	104.
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	U. S.	100.	6.02	100.	5.88	100.	5.76	100.
	South	84.	5.05	86.	5.05	94.	5.42	92.
	N. E.	111.	6.68	111.	6.54	107.	6.17	110.
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	U. S.	100.	5.57	100.	5.38	100.	5.47	100.
	South	81.	4.49	82.	4.40	86.	4.70	93.
	N. E.	105.	5.86	107.	5.73	102.	5.56	102.
Speeder tenders, (male)	U. S.	.....	7.39	.....	7.87	.....	8.26	.....
	South	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	N. E.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Speeder tenders, (female)	U. S.	100.	8.24	100.	7.95	100.	7.89	100.
	South	86.	7.12	91.	7.21	89.	7.03	88.
	N. E.	101.	8.30	117.	9.30	103.	8.11	104.
Loom fixers, (male)	U. S.	100.	12.58	100.	11.80	100.	11.89	100.
	South	80.	10.11	86.	10.16	84.	9.94	82.
	N. E.	114.	14.29	111.	13.05	109.	12.92	111.
Slasher tenders, (male)	U. S.	100.	11.03	100.	10.66	100.	11.33	100.
	South	72.	7.96	75.	8.02	75.	8.49	71.
	N. E.	105.	11.63	116.	12.37	113.	12.79	115.
Frame spinners, (male)	U. S.	100.	7.35	.....	6.91	.....	7.19	.....
	South	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	N. E.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Frame spinners, (female)	U. S.	100.	6.73	100.	6.36	100.	6.56	100.
	South	80.	5.40	86.	5.45	89.	5.81	84.
	N. E.	117.	7.85	111.	7.06	111.	7.28	113.
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	U. S.	100.	6.15	100.	5.92	100.	6.05	100.
	South	77.	4.71	85.	5.06	85.	5.17	87.
	N. E.	111.	6.80	108.	6.40	109.	6.58	110.
Weavers, (male)	U. S.	100.	9.70	100.	9.01	100.	9.12	100.
	South	82.	7.91	89.	8.08	91.	8.33	89.
	N. E.	108.	10.44	108.	9.74	104.	9.53	111.
Weavers, (female)	U. S.	100.	9.01	100.	8.50	100.	8.56	100.
	South	81.	7.28	86.	7.31	89.	7.63	87.
	N. E.	106.	9.53	105.	8.95	102.	8.77	103.

A Comparative yearly standing. B Average full-time ear

EW ENGLAND, AND THE STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND AS
07 TO 1928. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

1918		1920		1922		1924		1926		1928	
A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
100.	$14.84	100.	$24.92	100.	$17.39	100.	$19.08	100.	$17.42	100.	$17.02
79.	11.68	90.	22.37	78.	13.59	79.	15.03	81.	14.11	85.	14.50
110.	16.33	107.	27.52	122.	21.14	125.	23.93	123.	21.40	123.	20.92
100.	11.39	100.	23.10	100.	14.53	100.	16.20	100.	15.35	100.	15.48
95.	10.86	98.	22.68	92.	13.41	95.	15.42	94.	14.36	94.	14.58
120.	13.63	113.	25.55	117.	17.03	130.	21.09	120.	18.48	118.	18.21
100.	11.44	100.	18.74	100.	14.21	100.	15.95	100.	14.58	100.	14.28
75.	8.60	88.	16.51	70.	10.00	67.	10.65	75.	10.99	79.	11.33
106.	12.10	102.	19.20	107.	15.22	109.	17.46	109.	15.93	111.	15.85
.....	15.30	100.	28.89	100.	19.37	100.	21.39	100.	18.90	100.	19.01
.....	.....	96.	27.72	88.	17.14	88.	18.74	93.	17.50	93.	17.63
.....	.....	108.	31.30	126.	24.37	129.	27.51	126.	23.82	129.	24.49
100.	15.10	100.	24.40	100.	18.82	100.	21.04	100.	18.77	100.	18.38
77.	11.64	95.	23.21	82.	15.36	78.	16.46	81.	15.27	86.	15.79
105.	15.92	102.	24.97	106.	19.97	105.	22.16	105.	19.67	103.	19.02
100.	21.80	100.	35.76	100.	26.45	100.	29.25	100.	26.16	100.	25.88
77.	16.80	92.	32.88	81.	21.41	79.	23.07	84.	21.87	86.	22.20
114.	24.96	108.	38.50	116.	30.82	119.	34.95	120.	31.38	118.	30.65
100.	18.87	100.	30.17	100.	22.45	100.	24.75	100.	21.91	100.	21.27
72.	13.58	87.	26.10	75.	16.89	75.	18.50	80.	17.55	84.	17.92
120.	22.58	114.	34.44	123.	27.68	126.	31.07	126.	27.70	122.	26.03
.....	9.21	100.	24.08	100.	15.59	100.	19.63	100.	15.92	100.	19.59
.....	.....	75.	18.13	65.	10.08	59.	11.55	70.	11.22	61.	11.92
.....	.....	108.	26.02	131.	20.48	133.	26.16	146.	23.30	124.	24.24
100.	12.90	100.	22.12	100.	15.83	100.	16.94	100.	15.09	100.	14.60
84.	10.89	92.	20.26	78.	12.30	76.	12.93	82.	12.37	87.	12.65
117.	15.08	110.	24.26	120.	18.98	126.	21.39	113.	18.54	125.	18.18
100.	10.21	100.	17.18	100.	12.92	100.	14.12	100.	12.94	100.	12.72
79.	8.02	94.	16.09	81.	10.51	79.	11.22	87.	11.26	91.	11.55
111.	11.31	104.	17.83	113.	14.57	114.	16.15	108.	13.93	107.	13.63
100.	16.81	100.	29.68	100.	20.44	100.	23.71	100.	21.07	100.	20.93
84.	14.16	99.	29.30	85.	17.34	84.	19.89	89.	18.77	91.	18.95
110.	18.44	100.	29.77	112.	22.92	114.	27.03	111.	23.44	109.	22.74
100.	15.64	100.	26.56	100.	19.59	100.	22.22	100.	19.46	100.	19.37
77.	12.08	95.	25.34	80.	15.66	78.	17.33	85.	16.58	88.	17.12
108.	16.90	106.	26.98	107.	20.89	110.	24.35	108.	21.09	207.	20.65

FIGURE 10

AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE BY OCCUPATION SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE INCREASES AND DECREASES FOR THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND—1913-1928.
SECTION AVERAGE FOR 1913=100—Continued

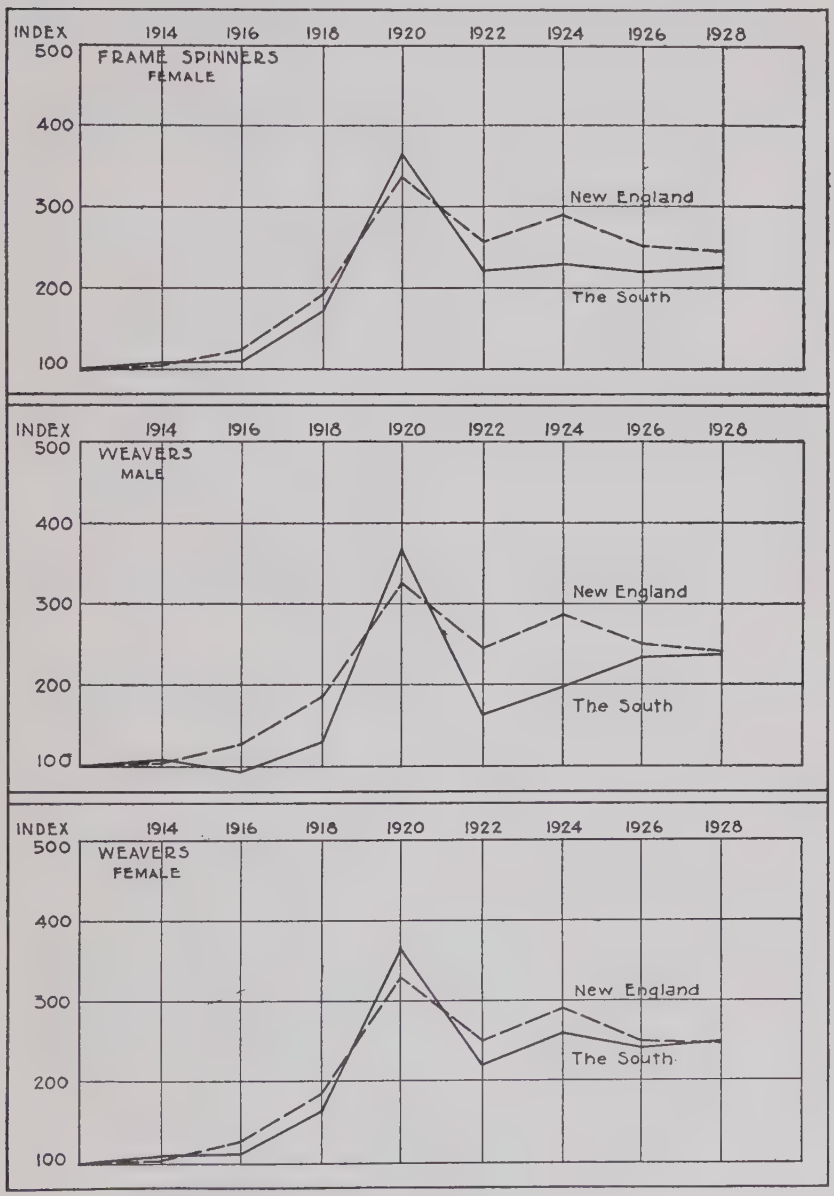


TABLE 18

AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE BY OCCUPATION SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE BI-YEARLY CHANGES FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AND NEW ENGLAND FOR SPECIFIED YEARS FROM 1907 TO 1928. SECTIONAL AVERAGE FOR 1913 = 100

Occupation		1907	1909	1911	1913	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	United States	96	88	88	**100**	104	121	193	342	235	258	234	228
	South	88	86	89	**100**	108	111	167	326	211	231	217	224
	New England	97	87	87	**100**	104	126	206	380	283	319	285	277
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	United States	....	....	....	**100**	106	115	182	390	247	270	256	259
	South	81	84	91	**100**	108	113	184	424	252	276	266	270
	New England	91	89	86	**100**	104	126	202	394	271	314	281	279
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	United States	81	79	83	**100**	103	118	183	324	241	271	246	239
	South	70	71	77	**100**	93	92	144	292	180	205	200	206
	New England	85	83	83	**100**	104	105	192	339	260	300	271	268
Speeder tenders, (male)	United States	80	89	93	**100**	104	120	183	368	247	272	237	228
	South	....	....	....	.....	100	101	152	329	222	224	207	210
	New England	....	....	....	.....	100	159	242	443	333	368	304	322
Speeder tenders, (female)	United States	92	89	90	**100**	102	124	182	321	243	271	243	238
	South	88	91	90	**100**	100	110	151	324	216	231	215	223
	New England	93	90	90	**100**	102	125	186	323	254	279	262	241

Loom fixers, (male)	United States	92	87	90	100	103	119	172	302	221	244	217	213
	South	93	81	94	100	102	112	161	339	222	239	226	231
	New England	96	88	89	100	104	125	182	310	243	272	245	236
Slasher tenders, (male)	United States	86	85	92	100	100	113	161	273	201	220	194	188
	South	87	91	96	100	98	106	157	327	212	232	220	224
	New England	85	84	88	100	102	116	162	279	219	243	213	202
Frame spinners, (male)	United States	87	82	88	100	106	115	174	333	204	259	203	239
	South	82	71	91	100	95	84	136	302	.....	195	182	191
	New England	93	89	84	100	102	125	191	348	250	328	279	271
Frame spinners, (female)	United States	87	84	88	100	104	117	183	336	237	251	222	214
	South	82	85	90	100	105	106	170	364	220	230	218	224
	New England	91	88	88	100	102	122	191	337	257	289	251	244
Trimmers or Inspectors, (female)	United States	92	89	93	100	101	116	165	299	221	241	221	217
	South	80	90	91	100	100	100	147	313	201	217	219	226
	New England	91	86	91	100	101	127	164	286	228	251	220	213
Weavers, (male)	United States	95	89	92	100	104	121	178	338	229	265	234	232
	South	87	90	94	100	105	92	127	367	161	198	231	237
	New England	98	89	90	100	103	126	184	324	244	284	249	239
Weavers, (female)	United States	92	88	90	100	102	123	175	324	233	263	229	226
	South	72	75	78	100	108	111	163	366	217	259	238	246
	New England	95	89	90	100	102	124	183	326	247	288	249	244

TABLE 20

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE BI-YEARLY CHANGES FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AND NEW ENGLAND. SECTIONAL AVERAGE FOR 1913 = 100

Occupation		1907	1909	1911	1913	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	United States	100	91	90	**100**	102	118	188	316	221	242	221	217
	South	94	89	93	**100**	100	109	167	320	194	215	202	208
	New England	100	91	89	**100**	102	122	201	338	260	294	263	257
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	United States	95	93	91	**100**	105	116	180	365	230	256	243	245
	South	87	87	93	**100**	109	114	187	390	231	265	247	251
	New England	96	94	88	**100**	104	127	196	368	245	304	266	262
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	United States	86	83	84	**100**	100	116	176	289	219	246	225	220
	South	75	73	82	**100**	92	91	144	276	167	178	184	189
	New England	89	87	85	**100**	102	120	184	292	231	265	242	241
Speeder tenders, (male)		.....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		.....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Speeder tenders, (female)	United States	96	93	92	**100**	101	121	177	285	220	246	220	215
	South	94	95	93	**100**	102	112	154	306	203	217	202	209
	New England	93	104	91	**100**	99	121	178	280	224	248	220	213

Loom fixers, (male)	United States	97	91	92	**100**	101	117	169	276	204	226	202	200
	South	95	95	93	**100**	101	109	158	309	201	217	205	208
	New England	100	91	90	**100**	102	121	175	270	216	245	220	214
Slasher tenders, (male)	United States	91	88	93	**100**	97	111	156	249	185	204	181	175
	South	92	93	98	**100**	99	108	158	303	196	215	204	207
	New England	83	88	91	**100**	101	116	161	246	198	222	198	186
Frame spinners, (male)		.....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		.....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Frame spinners, (female)	United States	92	87	90	**100**	102	115	177	303	217	232	207	200
	South	88	89	95	**100**	107	106	178	330	200	211	202	207
	New England	95	85	88	**100**	100	122	182	294	230	259	224	221
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	United States	96	92	94	**100**	100	113	159	268	202	221	202	199
	South	85	91	93	**100**	100	100	144	290	189	202	203	208
	New England	97	91	93	**100**	100	114	161	253	207	229	198	193
Weavers, (male)	United States	100	93	94	**100**	102	119	173	306	211	244	217	216
	South	91	92	96	**100**	104	110	163	337	199	229	216	219
	New England	99	93	91	**100**	100	121	176	284	218	257	223	217
Weavers, (female)	United States	97	92	92	**100**	100	120	169	287	212	240	210	209
	South	90	91	95	**100**	100	109	150	314	194	215	206	212
	New England	99	93	91	**100**	100	122	176	277	217	253	219	216

TABLE 21

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY HOURS AND AVERAGE ACTUAL HOURS WORKED PER WEEK, 1918-1928

Occupation	Year	Average full-time hours (South)	Average full-time hours (New England)	Average full-time hours (United States)	Average actual hours (South)	Average actual hours (New England)	Average actual hours (United States)
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	1918	60.0	54.1	56.0	51.0	54.4	53.3
	1920	56.1	49.6	52.9	43.1	48.4	46.8
	1922	55.4	51.2	53.0	46.1	49.6	47.7
	1924	55.3	51.5	53.6	43.8	45.1	44.1
	1926	55.8	51.4	54.1	43.1	47.2	44.9
	1928	55.7	51.6	54.2	39.7	44.2	41.0
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	1918	59.0	53.5	57.4	46.3	51.9	47.8
	1920	55.3	56.3	54.1	52.7	47.8	54.2
	1922	54.9	50.0	53.8	43.9	46.9	44.9
	1924	55.3	53.2	54.9	42.7	44.7	43.1
	1926	55.8	51.4	55.0	43.3	47.7	44.2
	1928	55.7	51.9	54.9	37.8	44.5	39.3
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	1918	59.8	53.5	54.7	.....	50.5	49.7
	1920	57.6	48.6	50.5	46.9	47.0	47.0
	1922	56.2	50.2	51.5	45.1	46.8	46.4
	1924	54.8	49.9	51.3	42.4	40.9	41.1
	1926	55.5	50.4	51.9	42.3	44.2	43.3
	1928	55.6	50.8	52.5	39.9	41.1	40.4
Speeder tenders, (male)	1918	60.0	.....	58.2	50.1	.....	51.2
	1920	55.8	49.7	54.2	45.7	47.5	46.3
	1922	55.3	50.8	54.1	45.4	45.6	45.6
	1924	55.3	51.8	54.3	44.1	43.5	43.7
	1926	55.8	51.6	55.1	40.4	46.0	43.8
	1928	55.7	52.8	55.1	39.4	45.4	40.3
Speeder tenders, (female)	1918	59.9	54.0	54.9	47.3	50.0	49.7
	1920	56.2	48.9	50.2	45.0	45.5	45.6
	1922	55.3	49.7	51.0	44.7	46.9	46.6
	1924	55.5	50.2	51.2	44.3	41.6	41.6
	1926	55.4	49.8	51.0	44.0	44.1	43.9
	1928	55.5	50.0	51.2	40.3	40.8	40.6
Loom fixers, (male)	1918	60.4	54.0	56.4	55.9	52.6	54.0
	1920	56.1	48.8	52.2	50.7	47.4	49.0
	1922	55.8	50.1	52.9	51.3	48.7	50.0
	1924	55.4	50.6	52.9	51.2	44.4	47.8
	1926	55.8	50.2	53.5	48.9	48.0	49.5
	1928	55.7	51.1	53.7	46.2	47.3	46.7

TABLE 21—Continued

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY HOURS AND AVERAGE ACTUAL HOURS WORKED PER WEEK, 1918-1928

Occupation	Year	Average full-time hours (South)	Average full-time hours (New England)	Average full-time hours (United States)	Average actual hours (South)	Average actual hours (New England)	Average actual hours (United States)
Slasher tenders, (male)	1918	60.0	54.0	56.6	54.6	54.3	54.9
	1920	55.6	48.7	52.1	51.2	46.8	49.0
	1922	55.5	49.9	52.7	51.7	50.1	50.9
	1924	55.4	50.4	53.0	50.3	42.9	46.8
	1926	55.5	50.4	53.3	48.9	48.4	49.9
	1928	55.5	50.1	53.7	45.1	46.2	45.4
Frame spinners, (male)	1918	.....	.....	54.1	.....	45.8	44.0
	1920	.....	.....	50.7	41.5	43.2	41.6
	1922	53.3	53.5	53.4	40.2	46.7	42.8
	1924	55.0	51.6	53.2	39.2	.....	37.3
	1926	56.1	53.6	55.1	35.7	47.2	39.7
	1928	56.6	59.2	57.8	31.8	42.4	38.3
Frame spinners, (female)	1918	58.1	53.8	55.9	45.0	48.8	47.4
	1920	54.8	48.7	51.8	42.9	44.1	43.7
	1922	54.8	47.8	52.6	42.5	45.6	44.0
	1924	55.3	50.4	53.1	39.4	40.2	40.1
	1926	55.6	50.2	53.5	41.3	43.1	42.0
	1928	55.5	50.5	52.9	37.2	41.4	38.6
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	1918	59.3	53.8	55.6	48.8	51.0	50.4
	1920	55.5	49.2	51.6	47.7	47.2	47.5
	1922	55.1	50.1	52.4	47.2	47.7	47.6
	1924	55.2	50.7	52.7	47.5	43.5	45.2
	1926	55.8	50.0	52.6	46.6	45.7	45.8
	1928	55.4	50.3	52.8	44.6	44.5	44.6
Weavers, (male)	1918	59.8	53.9	56.2	46.9	42.8	47.3
	1920	55.5	48.7	51.8	43.1	44.6	43.8
	1922	55.4	49.6	52.5	44.2	44.9	45.0
	1924	55.3	50.4	52.8	44.2	43.3	43.5
	1926	56.9	50.1	53.2	44.1	46.3	45.3
	1928	55.6	50.7	53.4	39.9	43.7	41.6
Weavers, (female)	1918	59.7	53.9	55.3	43.6	48.9	47.8
	1920	55.5	48.7	50.3	41.4	44.7	44.1
	1922	55.1	50.0	51.6	43.5	45.8	45.3
	1924	55.4	50.0	51.8	42.9	44.6	41.8
	1926	55.5	49.2	51.9	43.9	45.1	44.8
	1928	55.5	49.3	52.2	39.1	42.2	40.8

FIGURE 11

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY HOURS AND AVERAGE ACTUAL HOURS WORKED PER WEEK FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND—1918-1928

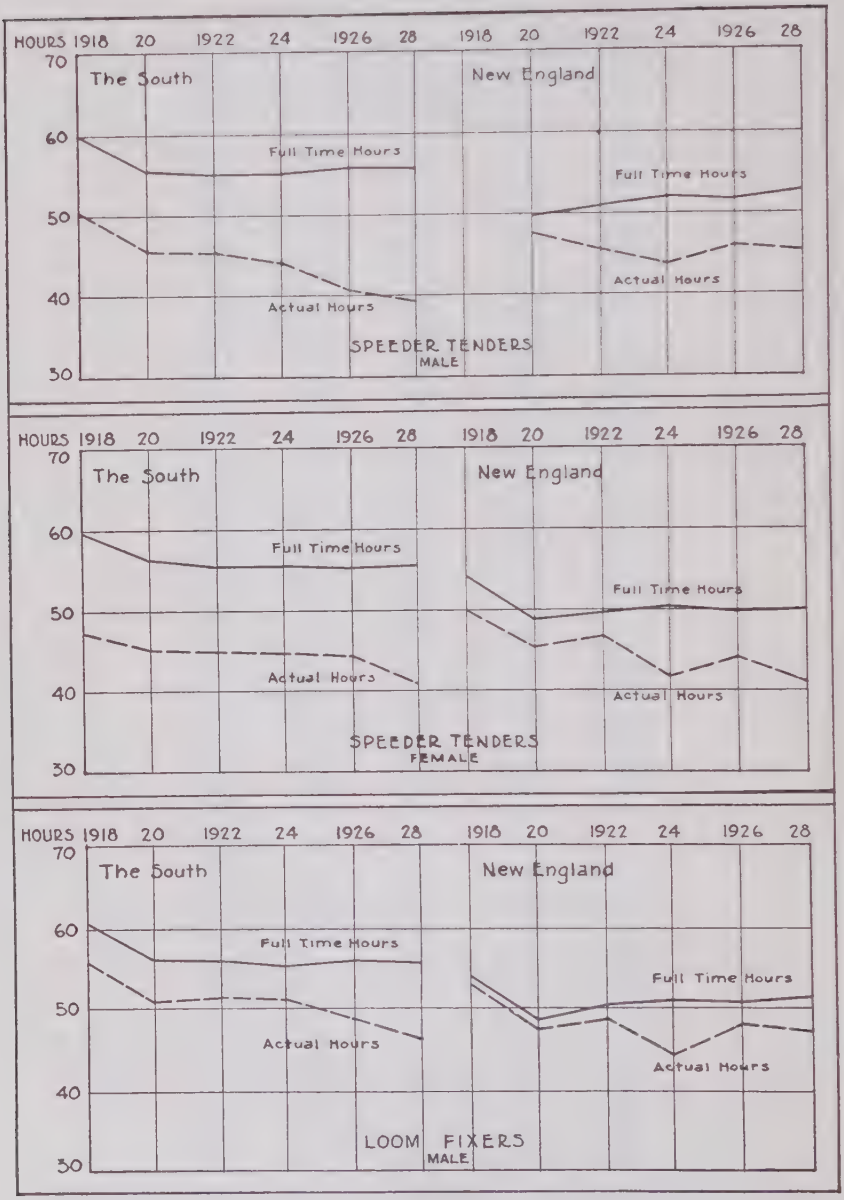


FIGURE 12

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY HOURS AND AVERAGE ACTUAL HOURS WORKED PER WEEK FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND—1918-1928—Continued

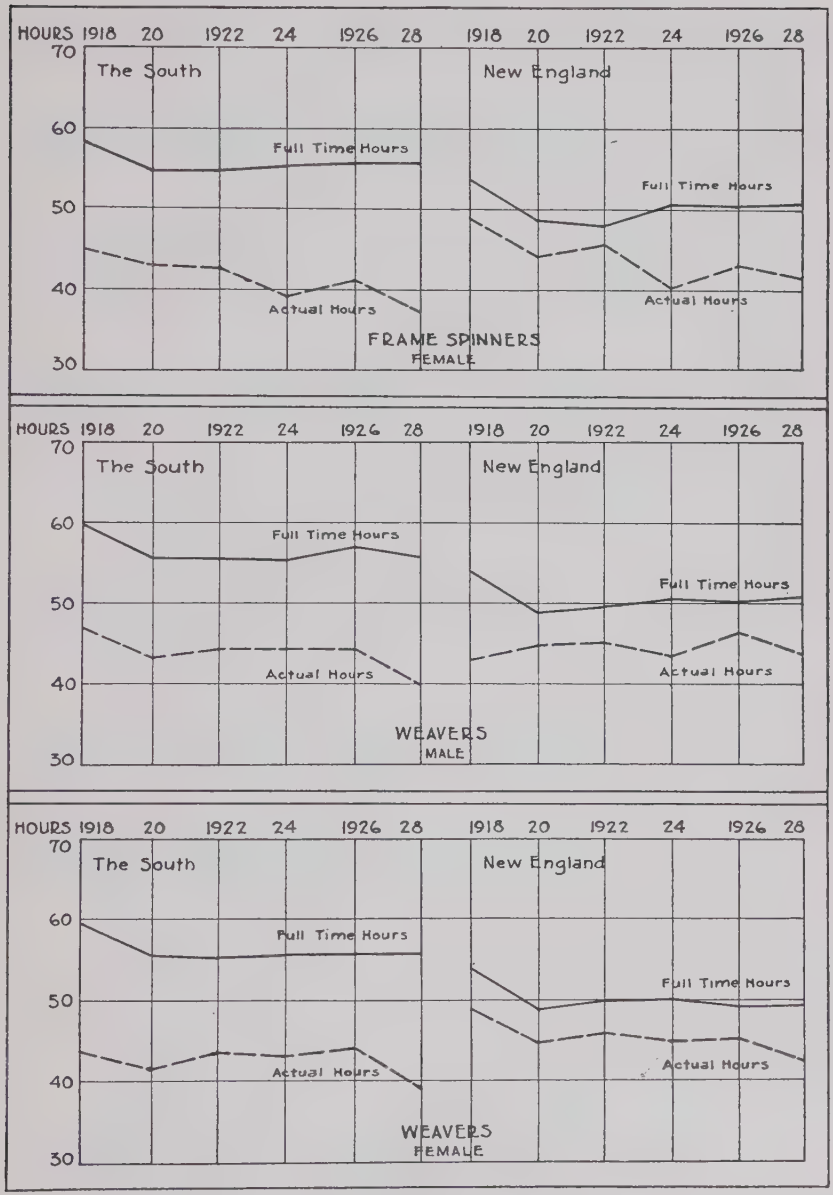


TABLE 22

AVERAGE ACTUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS BY OCCUPATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AND NEW ENGLAND, AND THE BI-YEARLY STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1918-1928. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

Occupation	Year	Comparative standing	United States average actual earnings	South comparative standing	South average actual earnings	New England comparative standing	New England average actual earnings	Coefficient of deviation (South)	Coefficient of deviation (New England)
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	1918	100	$14.37	69.	$ 9.85	115.	$16.53	4	5
	1920	100	22.75	82.	18.61	118.	26.89	14	5
	1922	100	15.33	73.	11.35	132.	20.48	16	3
	1924	100	15.87	74.	11.72	132.	20.92	16	5
	1926	100	14.47	76.	10.95	137.	19.89	16	5
	1928	100	12.88	80.	10.28	139.	17.93	6	6
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	1918	100	9.58	83.	7.95	134.	12.92	9	2
	1920	100	19.43	99.	19.23	120.	23.37	14	10
	1922	100	12.14	88.	10.72	132.	15.99	23	8
	1924	100	12.76	81.	10.28	138.	17.69	18	8
	1926	100	12.35	91.	11.23	137.	16.94	16	6
	1928	100	11.09	89.	9.91	141.	15.68	5	9
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	1918	100	10.37	65.	6.71	107.	11.08	....	....
	1920	100	17.61	78.	13.65	106.	18.61	6	5
	1922	100	12.79	63.	8.03	109.	13.96	6	6
	1924	100	12.77	68.	8.68	105.	13.35	10	4
	1926	100	12.18	67.	8.11	114.	13.99	7	5
	1928	100	10.96	74.	8.13	118.	12.89	....	....
Speeder tenders, (male)	1918	100	13.76	83.	11.44	139.	19.16	....	....
	1920	100	24.84	92.	22.83	120.	29.93	11	7
	1922	100	16.36	86.	14.13	134.	21.87	17	3
	1924	100	17.30	86.	14.88	134.	23.11	18	9
	1926	100	15.04	90.	13.59	141.	21.21	15	4
	1928	100	13.91	98.	13.65	152.	21.12	11	4

Speeder tenders, (female)	1918	100	13.77	69.	9.50	106.	14.63	8	1
	1920	100	22.44	84.	18.74	104.	23.27	7	2
	1922	100	17.20	68.	11.65	109.	18.74	12	5
	1924	100	17.00	78.	13.19	108.	18.31	9	8
	1926	100	16.17	75.	12.16	108.	17.42	11	5
	1928	100	14.57	79.	11.48	107.	15.59	10	11
Loom fixers, (male)	1918	100	21.18	73.	15.52	115.	24.33	2	2
	1920	100	33.95	87.	29.55	110.	37.39	6	2
	1922	100	25.01	79.	19.71	120.	29.99	8	4
	1924	100	26.11	81.	21.08	118.	30.68	10	5
	1926	100	24.21	82.	19.93	124.	29.97	7	2
	1928	100	22.50	82.	18.38	126.	28.43	6	5
Slasher tenders, (male)	1918	100	17.97	67.	12.08	123.	22.03	....	....
	1920	100	29.06	83.	24.17	114.	33.11	10	3
	1922	100	21.69	74.	15.80	128.	27.82	14	5
	1924	100	21.42	78.	16.63	120.	25.74	11	6
	1926	100	20.51	79.	16.24	127.	26.03	16	2
	1928	100	18.00	81.	14.57	132.	23.69	13	6
Frame spinners, (male)	1918	100	11.36	.....	.....	123.	13.92	....	....
	1920	100	19.76	71.	14.02	126.	24.82	....	....
	1922	100	12.48	66.	8.18	144.	18.00	15	11
	1924	100	13.51	61.	8.19	132.	17.85	9	13
	1926	100	11.50	61.	7.05	178.	20.51	12	3
	1928	100	12.98	52.	6.76	135.	17.51	....	....
Frame spinners, (female)	1918	100	11.51	71.	8.20	124.	14.32	12	3
	1920	100	19.11	84.	15.96	115.	21.96	8	2
	1922	100	13.22	72.	9.53	130.	17.22	14	5
	1924	100	12.81	74.	9.50	133.	17.03	18	8
	1926	100	11.84	78.	9.29	137.	16.21	10	10
	1928	100	10.65	80.	8.49	140.	14.91	11	9

TABLE 22—Continued

AVERAGE ACTUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS BY OCCUPATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AND NEW ENGLAND, AND THE BI-YEARLY STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1918-1928. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

Occupation	Year	Comparative standing	United States average actual earnings	South comparative standing	South average actual earnings	New England comparative standing	New England average actual earnings	Coefficient of deviation (South)	Coefficient of deviation (New England)
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	1918	100	9.45	70.	6.66	112.	10.63	3	7
	1920	100	16.12	87.	14.00	106.	17.09	6	3
	1922	100	11.68	75.	8.79	118.	13.80	12	4
	1924	100	11.99	82.	9.87	115.	13.75	17	4
	1926	100	11.26	84.	9.45	113.	12.73	15	5
	1928	100	10.74	87.	9.30	112.	12.07	10	11
Weavers, (male)	1918	100	14.64	75.	10.95	113.	16.49	6	5
	1920	100	25.09	91.	22.72	108.	27.20	12	5
	1922	100	17.51	79.	13.83	120.	21.04	14	4
	1924	100	19.52	82.	15.94	119.	23.25	17	6
	1926	100	17.98	82.	14.80	120.	21.61	9	3
	1928	100	16.32	83.	13.57	120.	19.60	7	9
Weavers, (female)	1918	100	13.88	60.	8.36	110.	15.33	8	4
	1920	100	23.27	82.	19.02	106.	24.76	13	4
	1922	100	17.22	72.	22.35	111.	19.14	12	6
	1924	100	17.90	70.	13.49	112.	20.09	15	3
	1926	100	16.83	78.	13.16	116.	19.47	9	4
	1928	100	15.13	80.	12.05	117.	17.71	9	9

FIGURE 13

AVERAGE ACTUAL AND AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE SOUTH—1918-1928

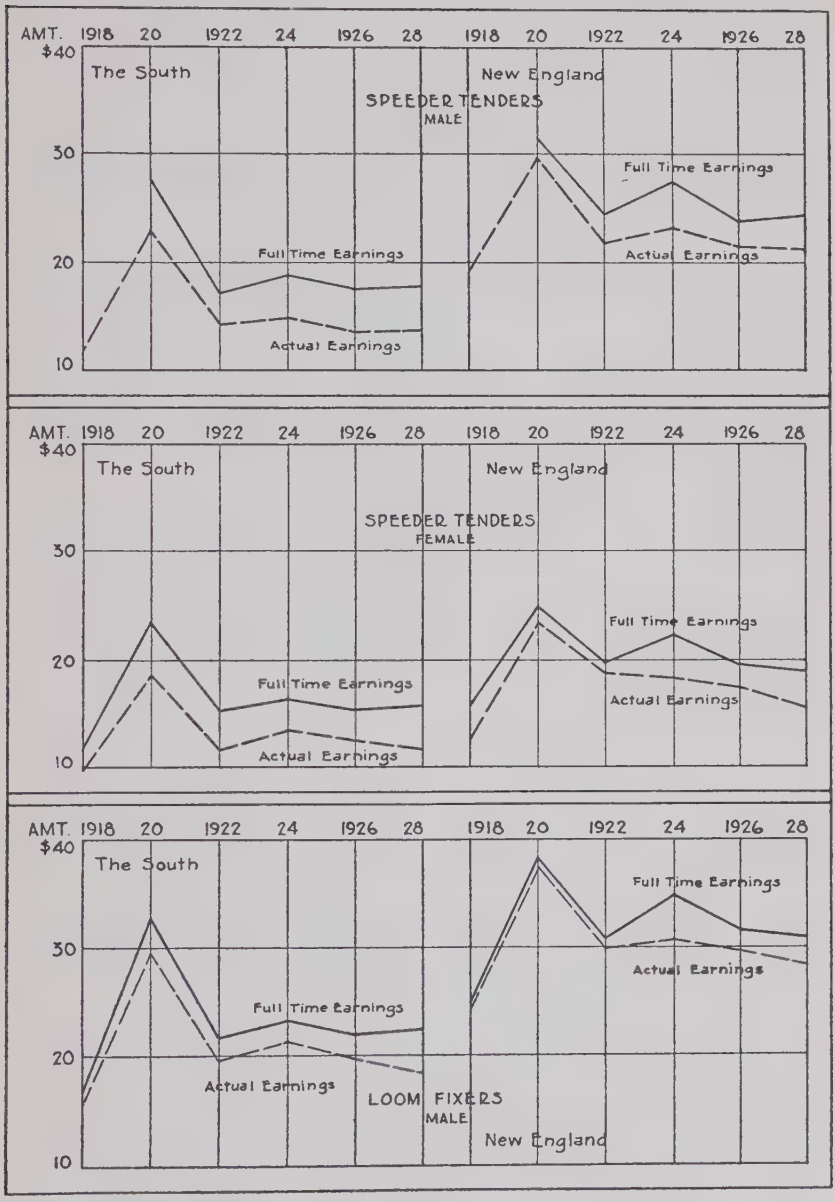
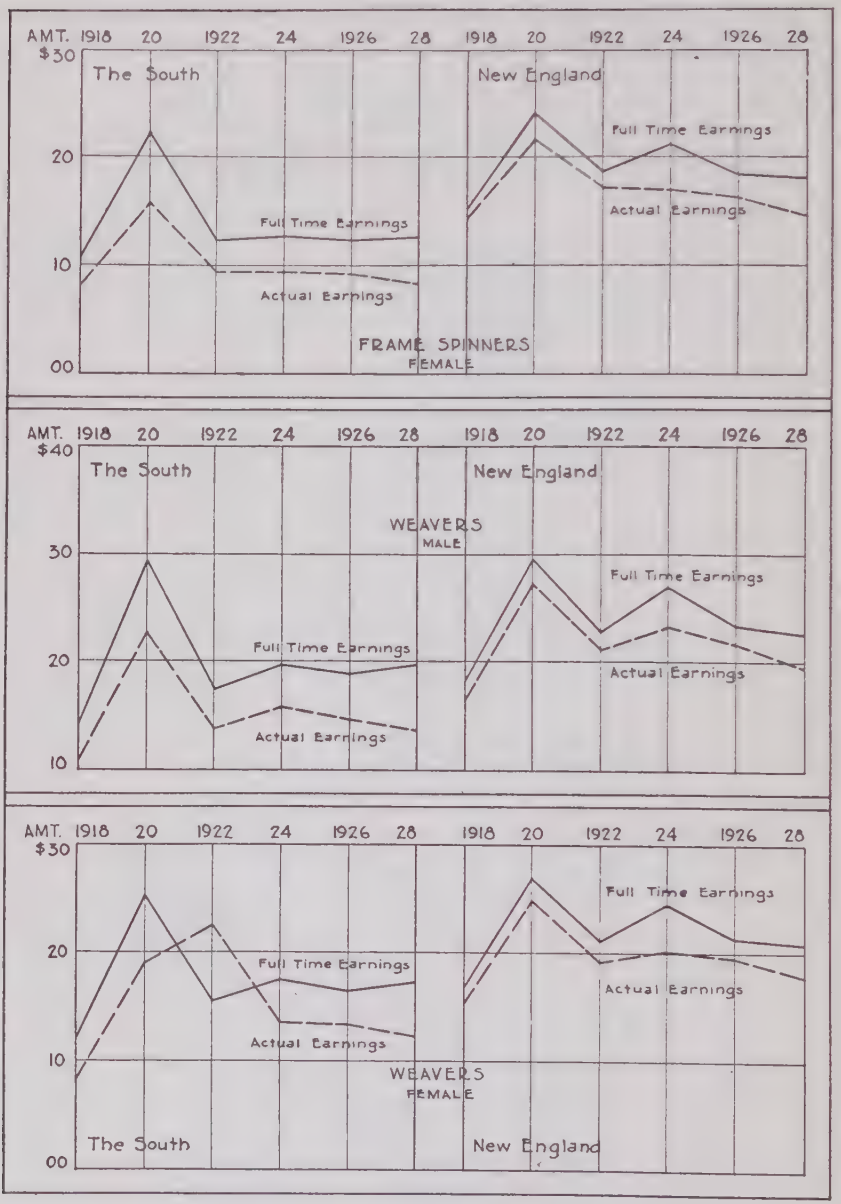


FIGURE 14

AVERAGE ACTUAL AND AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE SOUTH—1918-1928—Continued



Four things must be noted from these charts. In the first place, let us look at the trend of the full-time weekly hours. For the last few years there have been but few changes in either the North or the South. Since 1918 the trend has been slightly upward, or toward longer hours in New England, and slightly downward, or toward shorter hours in the South. When we consider that until a few years ago, sixty hours was the normal week's work in the cotton industry of the South, the drop since 1918 is not without significance.

The actual hours worked is more important from the social standpoint than the full-time hours. The workers are usually paid by the hour and their leisure time is determined by the length of time they actually stay in the mill. In every one of the charted instances, both North and South, the trend in the actual hours worked has been distinctly downward, or less, since 1918. Especially within the last two years, this drop has been exceedingly great.

When we come to the actual number of hours worked per week, and the full-time hours per week, we find that our lines are fairly consistent. The workers in the North are supposed to work fewer hours than the workers in the South, but as a matter of fact, the workers in the South actually put in fewer hours than the wage earners of New England. For example, in 1928 the female weavers' full-time hours were 55.5 in the South, but they actually worked 39.1 hours a week. The full-time hours for the same occupation in New England were 49.3, while those wage earners really worked 42.2 hours a week. Loom fixers worked 46.2 hours in the South, and 47.3 hours in the North, but their full-time hours were 55.7 in the South and 50.1 in New England. This situation has existed almost consistently in all twelve occupations for all six years.

We turn now to a presentation of the actual and full-time weekly earnings of the wage earners of our twelve selected occupations. The summary of the findings appear in Tables 22 and 23. The last two columns of these two tables are headed "Coefficient of deviation, South," and "Coefficient of deviation, New England."

In wage data, variability is especially significant. The average wages of different groups of laborers cannot be compared to the greatest advantage until the degree of variation in each group is known. The average deviation from the mean is used in this study. It is evident that the nearer the average wage approaches the cost of living, the more necessary it becomes that the variation from this average wage be small.

TABLE 23

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS BY OCCUPATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AND NEW ENGLAND, AND THE BI-YEARLY STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1918-1928. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

Occupation	Year	Comparative standing	United States full-time average earnings	South comparative standing	South full-time average earnings	New England comparative standing	New England full-time average earnings	Coefficient of deviation (South)	Coefficient of deviation (New England)
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	1918	100	$14.84	79.	$11.68	110.	$16.33	2	4
	1920	100	24.92	90.	22.37	107.	27.52	11	3
	1922	100	17.39	78.	13.59	122.	21.14	12	3
	1924	100	19.08	78.	15.03	125.	23.93	12	3
	1926	100	17.42	81.	14.11	123.	21.40	8	4
	1928	100	17.02	86.	14.50	123.	20.92	5	7
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	1918	100	11.39	95.	10.86	120.	13.63	12	1
	1920	100	23.10	98.	22.68	113.	25.55	9	7
	1922	100	14.53	92.	13.41	117.	17.03	17	7
	1924	100	16.20	95.	15.42	130.	21.09	13	4
	1926	100	15.35	94.	14.36	120.	18.48	8	7
	1928	100	15.48	94.	14.58	117.	18.21	5	6
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	1918	100	11.44	75.	8.60	106.	12.10	....	....
	1920	100	18.74	88.	16.51	102.	19.20	9	2
	1922	100	14.21	70.	10.00	107.	15.22	8	3
	1924	100	15.95	67.	10.65	109.	17.46	10	2
	1926	100	14.58	75.	10.99	109.	15.93	6	4
	1928	100	14.28	79.	11.33	111.	15.85	4	7
Speeder tenders, (male)	1918	100	15.30	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	....
	1920	100	28.89	96.	27.72	108.	31.30	7	6
	1922	100	19.37	88.	17.14	126.	24.37	13	2
	1924	100	21.39	88.	18.74	129.	27.51	13	2
	1926	100	18.90	94.	17.50	126.	23.82	7	3
	1928	100	19.01	94.	17.63	129.	24.49	7	5

Speeder tenders, (female)	1918	100	15.10	77.	11.64	105.	15.92	4	2
	1920	100	24.40	95.	23.21	102.	24.97	9	2
	1922	100	18.82	82.	15.36	106.	19.97	12	5
	1924	100	21.04	78.	16.46	105.	22.16	9	5
	1926	100	18.77	81.	15.27	105.	19.67	6	6
	1928	100	18.38	86.	15.79	103.	19.02	7	10
Loom fixers, (male)	1918	100	21.80	77.	16.80	114.	24.96	2	2
	1920	100	35.76	92.	32.88	108.	38.50	6	2
	1922	100	26.45	81.	21.41	117.	30.82	8	4
	1924	100	29.25	79.	23.07	119.	34.95	10	3
	1926	100	26.16	84.	21.87	119.	31.38	4	5
	1928	100	25.88	86.	22.20	119.	30.65	7	5
Slasher tenders, (male)	1918	100	18.87	72.	13.58	120.	22.58	4	6
	1920	100	30.17	87.	26.10	114.	34.44	9	2
	1922	100	22.45	75.	16.89	123.	27.68	12	4
	1924	100	24.75	75.	18.50	126.	31.07	14	3
	1926	100	21.91	80.	17.55	126.	27.70	10	4
	1928	100	21.27	84.	17.92	122.	26.03	11	7
Frame spinners, (male)	1918	100	9.21	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....
	1920	100	24.08	75.	18.13	108.	26.02	....	....
	1922	100	15.59	65.	10.08	131.	20.48	8	7
	1924	100	19.63	59.	11.55	133.	26.16	9	3
	1926	100	15.92	70.	11.22	146.	23.30	9	3
	1928	100	19.59	61.	11.92	124.	24.24	....	....
Frame spinners, (female)	1918	100	12.90	84.	10.89	117.	15.08	7	2
	1920	100	22.12	92.	20.26	110.	24.26	9	1
	1922	100	15.83	78.	12.30	120.	18.98	12	5
	1924	100	16.94	76.	12.93	126.	21.39	10	6
	1926	100	15.09	82.	12.37	123.	18.54	5	6
	1928	100	14.60	87.	12.65	125.	18.18	6	9

TABLE 23—Continued

AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS BY OCCUPATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH, AND NEW ENGLAND, AND THE BI-YEARLY STANDING OF THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1918-1928. YEARLY AVERAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES = 100

Occupation	Year	Comparative standing	United States full-time average earnings	South comparative standing	South full-time average earnings	New England comparative standing	New England full-time average earnings	Coefficient of deviation (South)	Coefficient of deviation (New England)
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	1918	100	10.21	79.	8.02	111.	11.31	4	5
	1920	100	17.18	94.	16.09	104.	17.83	11	3
	1922	100	12.92	81.	10.51	113.	17.75	12	6
	1924	100	14.12	79.	11.22	114.	16.15	14	9
	1926	100	12.94	87.	11.26	108.	13.93	12	5
	1928	100	12.72	91.	11.55	107.	13.63	9	9
Weavers, (male)	1918	100	16.81	84.	14.16	110.	18.44	4	4
	1920	100	29.68	99.	29.30	100.	29.77	7	4
	1922	100	20.44	85.	17.34	112.	22.92	13	4
	1924	100	23.71	84.	19.89	114.	27.03	13	4
	1926	100	21.07	89.	18.77	111.	23.44	9	6
	1928	100	20.93	91.	18.95	109.	22.74	9	7
Weavers, (female)	1918	100	15.64	77.	12.08	108.	16.90	6	3
	1920	100	26.56	95.	25.34	106.	26.98	7	3
	1922	100	19.59	80.	15.66	107.	20.89	11	6
	1924	100	22.22	78.	17.33	110.	24.35	11	3
	1926	100	19.46	85.	16.58	108.	21.09	7	7
	1928	100	19.37	88.	17.12	107.	20.65	8	8

In order to produce a single figure for each group of wage earners that may be used as a relative of variability, and thus be made comparable for the various groups, a measure called the "coefficient of deviation" is obtained as follows: The average (mean) wage of each group is first obtained; next, the average variation from this mean wage is secured; and finally, the average variation is divided by the mean wage, thus securing a figure called the coefficient of deviation. A relatively large average wage accompanied by a small average variation indicates standardization, and thus, a desirable situation; while a small average wage with a relatively large average variation indicates lack of standardization, an undesirable situation. The coefficient of deviation is a relative figure, and various groups may be compared by their respective coefficients.

In Figures 13 and 14, the information for six occupations as shown on both these tables is presented. The average full-time weekly earnings in the South have been about the same since 1924, while the full-time earnings in New England dropped sharply between 1924 and 1926, but remained about constant between 1926 and 1928. However, the average actual weekly earnings for all six of the occupations represented, and in both sections, have fallen since 1924; while in some cases they have fallen almost to the level of the actual wages in 1918, prior to the subsequent boom period of 1920. And these actual wages are low in comparison with wages in other industries even for loom fixers and weavers, who are the highest paid workers in the industry. In 1928, male weavers in the North received a wage of $19.60 a week; in the South it was $13.57. Female weavers were paid $17.71 in New England, and $12.05 in the South. Female spinners in New England got $14.91 a week, and in the South $8.49 a week. Northern loom fixers were paid $28.43 a week, and southern men doing the same work, $18.38.

It remains to summarize our computations and to offer some explanation of the figures presented.

These tabulations made from the original figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics show two important phenomena. In the first place, judged from a monetary point of view alone, the cotton mill wage earner in the South is the recipient of wages considerably lower than the New England worker. In the second place, generally speaking, the monetary wage of the southern worker is gradually improving, while that of the northern worker remains practically stationary, or in many cases seems to be noticeably declining. To these general ob-

servations on the comparative monetary payments of the two sections may be added the discouraging fact that during the last four years of unprecedented prosperity, the cotton mill employees have been working on a part-time schedule, with a consequent serious reduction in their actual earnings. However, as previously stated, we shall limit our analyses to the differences between the two sections and not attempt to vouchsafe definite reasons for the low wages existing generally in the cotton textile industry.

From these conclusions several questions arise. First, why are wages lower in the South than in the North, and by what amounts do they differ; second, why are wages increasing in the South and not in the North; third, why are the full-time hours higher in the South than in the North; and finally, why are the actual hours worked longer in New England than in the South?

TABLE 24

FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS AND ACTUAL AND AVERAGE WEEKLY DIFFERENCES FOR THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND—1928

Occupation	Average South	Average North	Difference
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	$14.50	$20.92	$ 6.42
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	14.58	18.21	3.63
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	11.33	15.85	4.52
Speeder tenders, (male)	17.63	24.49	6.86
Speeder tenders, (female)	15.79	19.02	3.23
Loom fixers, (male)	22.20	30.65	8.45
Slasher tenders, (male)	17.92	26.03	8.11
Frame spinners, (male)	11.92	24.24	12.32
Frame spinners, (female)	12.65	18.18	5.53
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	11.55	13.63	2.08
Weavers, (male)	18.95	22.74	3.79
Weavers, (female)	17.12	20.65	3.53
Average difference			$5.707

Tables 24 and 25 show the differences in the weekly money wages of the workers for 1928 in the twelve selected occupations in the North and in the South. The average difference is found to be $5.71 in full-time weekly wages, and $6.71 in the actual weekly earnings. In connection with these differences the question naturally arises as to whether or not the extras given by the mill owners of the South are of sufficient importance to account for this substantial difference in wages. In the opinion of the writers these extras are not the real cause of low wages in the southern textile in-

TABLE 25

ACTUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS AND ACTUAL AND AVERAGE DIFFERENCES IN THE SOUTH AND NEW ENGLAND—1928

Occupation	Average South	Average North	Difference
Card tenders and strippers, (male)	$10.28	$17.93	$7.65
Drawing-frame tenders, (male)	9.91	15.68	5.77
Drawing-frame tenders, (female)	8.13	12.89	4.76
Speeder tenders, (male)	13.65	21.12	7.47
Speeder tenders, (female)	11.48	15.59	4.11
Loom fixers, (male)	18.38	28.43	10.05
Slasher tenders, (male)	14.57	23.69	9.12
Frame spinners, (male)	6.76	17.51	10.75
Frame spinners, (female)	8.49	14.91	6.42
Trimmers or inspectors, (female)	9.30	12.07	2.77
Weavers, (male)	13.57	19.60	6.03
Weavers, (female)	12.05	17.71	5.66
Average difference			$6.713

dustry. It has been found that the wages of the southern textile workers vary from year to year, from factory to factory, and from state to state; yet the house rental throughout the cotton mill villages is practically the same. The wages in Virginia cotton mills are higher than those in South Carolina, though twenty-five cents a week per room is the rental for a cottage in Virginia as it is in South Carolina. In the opinion of a leading manufacturer in the South, the price of house rent is largely a matter of custom, though wage rates in the cotton textile industry fluctuate from year to year as do rates in other industries.

If we, for the present at least, leave out of account the extras received by the southern textile workers, some explanation of the differences which exist must be given. In advancing any reason or reasons for low wages in the southern textile industry, we cannot ignore such factors as the condition of the industry, the demand for and the supply of labor, and the customs and habits of the workers.

Until very recently the mills of the South have produced textiles which are classified as "coarse goods," while the New England mills have been producing to a great extent high count or "fine" cotton textiles. This condition is partly due to the climate, but the comparative skill of the workers in the two regions has been to some extent responsible. While it is probably true that southern workers are capable of acquiring the necessary skill to produce high grade materials, it should be remembered that the workers in New England

have been spinning and weaving for generations. Since the majority of the southern workers have in the past used their fingers to grip the plow handles rather than to handle fine cotton thread, it is but natural that the southern mills have produced coarse goods.

The necessity of producing coarse goods has subjected the southern cotton textile industry to all the evils of overproduction, and has resulted in severe competition. Despite the fact that overproduction has been a very serious problem for many years in this branch of the industry, little effort has been made on the part of producers to remedy the situation. In a letter to Ethelbert Stewart, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, the president of a large southern cotton textile company stated the situation as follows: "The only way, in my opinion, to eliminate this overproduction is for the mills of the Carolinas and Georgia to discontinue night work. This they do not seem disposed to do, and instead of quitting night work more and more of them all the time are beginning to run nights. I think that every state should pass a law entirely prohibiting it." It was further stated that, the owners and operators of cotton mills, instead of trying to work their help the most possible hours day and night and pay them the least wages possible, should voluntarily cut out night work altogether and work less hours per day and pay their help more money for their work.[1]

One of the factors which helps to determine wages is the value of the contribution made by the workers to the product of industry. That is to say, good management demands that each worker contribute at least as much to the corporate income as his wages subtract from that income. No employer, therefore, can be expected, for any considerable length of time, to pay a wage greater than the amount which the worker adds to the value of the product; and this value will be determined in the final analysis by the market which fixes a price upon the goods which are offered for sale.

We do not contend that wages in the southern textile industry are as high as the operators can afford to pay without actual loss to themselves. The data which would be essential to any definite conclusion on this point are not available. But we do believe that before there can be any very great increase in wages in the South the operators will have to either turn to the production of more high count textiles, or take drastic steps to regulate the supply of coarse goods to the de-

1. Ethelbert Stewart, Speech delivered before Conference on Textiles, Philadelphia, Pa., April 27, 1929. *American Federationist*, p. 685, June, 1929.

mand for them. This opinion is borne out by statistics given by Commissioner Stewart by which he shows that all low count textiles have declined in price since 1920. For instance drillings, brown, 29 inches, sold for $.291 per yard in 1920; while the same material in 1928 sold for $.126. Sheeting, brown, 4/4 per yard, sold in 1920 for $.218, and in 1928 for $.122. Sheeting, bleached, 10/4, sold for $.726 per yard in 1920, and $.410 in 1928. Ticking, 32 inches, sold for $.836 per yard in 1920, and $.233 in 1928. He also shows that in 34 fine goods establishments employment increased 3.7 per cent since 1924, while in 31 coarse goods establishments employment decreased 19.1 per cent during the same period. The explanation for this, he believes, "is probably that the overproduction in heavy goods has been doubtless greater during the five years named than in fine goods." [2]

While the condition of the industry itself should be taken into account in any discussion of the wage situation in the southern textile industry, there is another factor which at the present time plays a more important part in causing low wages in the South. Though the rate of wages in any specific industry cannot for any extended period rise above the point at which the wages paid will just equal the value added by the worker to the product, the rate of wages paid may fall sometimes above and sometimes below that point. The actual rate of wages will be determined by the bargaining strength of the workers as compared to that of the employer. While industry in the South is becoming more and more diversified, in many of the states the manufacture of textiles is the leading industry both from the standpoint of the number of workers employed, and from that of the value added by manufacture. In other words, the workers in the South do not have the choice of occupations which the workers in New England enjoy as a result of the greater variety of industries in that section. This means, of course, that the demand for industrial labor is limited, due to the small variety of workers needed to operate the present industries in the South.

Another factor which must be considered in our discussion of the bargaining power of labor in the South, is the low standard of living to which the workers have been accustomed before coming to the mills. Until the advent of the cotton mill the ancestors of the present mill workers, and in fact many of the workers themselves, lived in the mountains or on tenant farms. The amount of money which

2. Op. cit. p. 689.

they handled during a year was negligible, for theirs was a barter economy. The call of the mills for workers offered a means of escape for these people from their unhappy situation, and they were prompt to take advantage of it. Even the small amount which the first struggling establishments were able to pay for a week's work was to these people a huge sum since they had not before seen so much money in a year. They had no conception as to the purchasing power of a week's wages and were, as a result, satisfied. This is not a condition which existed entirely in the past, since the people are still coming out of the mountains, and these same people look upon the wages which they receive as huge sums.

At the same time, too much emphasis has been placed upon low cost of living as a factor making for low wages in the South. In the first place, as will be pointed out in a later chapter, the facts regarding differences in cost of living are far from being indisputable. But any effect which costs of necessities may have on wages in the South is based more upon the living standards to which many southern workers have been accustomed and their present willingness to accept wages which, though low, afford a standard of living considerably better than their former one. When the workers of the second or third generation begin to take their place at the spindle and loom, they will be accustomed to the new environment and the improved standard of living made possible by the wages received from the mills, and then like other people the mill workers will seek to better their conditions.

In connection with this same factor of previous accustomed conditions can be found the force of public opinion. Those who have seen the living conditions in the mountains know that however poorly the material wants of the people are taken care of at the mills, the people are in much better economic circumstances than they were in the mountains. Many mill managers believe, and they are probably right, that bringing people out of the mountains and off the tenant farms has been a real piece of missionary work. When, to the usual inertia of wages to rise we add the feeling of the owners and of a large part of the general public that the mill people have increased their standards of living a great deal already, it is but natural that the workers of the South have found it difficult to obtain higher wages.

We would not for a moment maintain or even imply that custom or standard of living ultimately determine the rate of wages which are paid in the textile industry. These factors are of importance only in

explaining why the workers are willing to accept low wages. The lower limit of wages for any group of workers is that point below which free men will cease to labor, and this lower point will be determined to a considerable extent by the previous experiences, the customs and habits of the workers. Since the cotton mill worker has been accustomed to a low standard of living, and since he has no past experiences upon which to base his estimate as to what is a fair wage, he is willing and anxious for a time to work in the mills for a lower wage than he would otherwise accept. As long as the workers are satisfied with the rate of wages which they receive there will be little incentive on the part of the employers to increase wages. But as the workers gain experience, when they become accustomed to their new environment, and when they become educated to the need of a higher standard of living than the one to which they have been accustomed, these workers will refuse to accept the rate of wages which they now receive. When this time comes, the workers will no doubt take steps, perhaps through organization, to increase the bargaining power of the group for the purpose of making better terms with their employers.

These are a few possible explanations of the differences in the wages of the cotton mill workers of the North and South. As previously pointed out, however, this does not pretend to be a complete discussion of all the factors behind this economic phenomenon. Many of the discrepancies must, of course, be attributed to general economic differences between the North and the South which are entirely independent of the textile industry but which affect that industry indirectly. Such factors as the large Negro population and the predominant agricultural economy have played their part in the low wage scale of the South, but it is outside our province to deal with these in any detail.

Our second question, namely, why during the last two years have wages tended to increase in the South and not in the North, we shall not discuss. The changes noted have been so small that they may be attributed to chance rather than to any economic change in the two sections. If like tendencies are noticed within the next few years, some explanation will be in order.

On the newness of the industrial South must be blamed the higher full-time hours and the lower actual hours worked. The worker of the South has never been accustomed to the strict discipline of an industrial life. He has been used to starting and stopping his farm work whenever he chose, and it is small wonder that it is taking him

some time to become accustomed to the new rules under which he lives. If it is necessary to run the spindles and looms sixty hours a week to turn out the required production, then sixty hours will be the normal week, even though the necessity for that long week rests upon the fact that the workers are not steady in their attendance.

A second factor making for shorter average actual number of hours worked is probably the fact that the "spare hand" system is more evident in the South than in New England. When these hands, who work but a short time each week, are averaged with the other workers, the resulting average is naturally materially reduced.

In this chapter we have given the facts of the money wages and the hours of labor in the South and in New England, together with some possible explanations of these facts. There remains to be discussed the various aids to the pay envelope which the southern manufacturer gives to his men and women. These will be taken up in the following chapter for money wages cannot be effectively considered apart from the extras.

CHAPTER VIII

Welfare Work in the Southern Cotton Mills

IN THE preceding chapter we have discussed the problem of wages in the southern cotton mills and the differences in wages between New England and the South. One of the possibilities mentioned as lying behind this discrepancy was the amount of welfare and community work done by the southern mills, or in other words, the amount of free services offered by the southern managers which turns a low money wage into a higher real wage. In the present chapter we shall attempt to summarize our findings in this field of industrial relations in the textile mills of the South and of New England.

A word of warning is necessary. Though we shall attempt to summarize, we cannot attempt to generalize on the southern factories. This has too often been done with the result that those inclined toward an employer's viewpoint, point with pride to this mill or that as a model of industrial efficiency and good will, while those with leanings toward the side of labor judge all southern mills to be flesh pots because they have seen in their travels, models of a despotism which in many cases is not even beneficent. We have visited both types of communities and all of the varieties in between. A person going into the South can prove just what he wishes without any trouble at all. The mistake is in trying to cast all mills into the pattern which makes the picture he would like to present. We have nothing to prove and wish here to present only what we have found in studying some sixty-six mills in seven southern states, and visiting many others.

We may classify these establishments according to location, making three divisions: the city mill, the border mill, and the country mill. The city mills are those within the corporate limits of a city or town; the border mills, those located just at the edge of some independent community; and the country mills, those at a considerable distance from any other community. Classification must at times be arbitrary, but in general mills can be put in one of these three divisions.

A very important part of the welfare program of cotton mill villages is community work. By community work we mean the kind of activities generally carried on by such organizations as Y. M. C. A.'s,

Y. W. C. A.'s, and the churches. When we refer to those community activities as being done by the mills for the people, we have in mind direct financial and supervisory interest by the mill management in those activities. Such a definition would exclude, of course, cases in which the mills donate to campaigns undertaken by certain organizations but leave it to those organizations to work with their people even though that work may be performed with the cooperation of the mill superintendent or other officials.

Among the more tangible evidences of the mill's direct interest in the community life of the village is the so-called "community house." Naturally there are all kinds of houses which bear that name. One may find a cottage similar to the ones occupied by the workers or one may find elaborate establishments with swimming pools, gymnasiums, and room for all the other activities which make up the program of a modern city Y. M. C. A.

Let us first give attention to the mills which are located within cities and towns. Twenty-two mills of this classification were visited, and of these, thirteen had no community houses; two had established such centers but had left the operation of the buildings to outside organizations, and six maintained establishments of some sort. Of these six, two had set aside small houses where meetings of the organized clubs are held, but the activities are limited because of the distinct limitations of the buildings; two have had set apart for the use of the workers, houses which serve as community centers. These buildings are fairly large but the equipment rather limited. There are club rooms, kitchens, large assembly halls, and rooms where games may be played. The other three have attempted a more or less complete social and recreational program.

For instance, *A* is a group of mills in a large city. Since the mills are grouped close together one community house is sufficient. On the first floor of this building there is a large room with desks, game boards, a music machine of the latest type, a very large gymnasium, an excellent swimming pool, showers, and the like. There is also a large pool room and three bowling alleys. One side of the building is for girls and here is found a large room in which they hold their club meetings. On the second floor there is a good sized auditorium where pictures are shown at a nominal cost. On the girl's side is a smaller gymnasium and another large club room. *B*, we found, furnishes a large building containing a gymnasium, a pool room, and various rooms for club activities. The meeting rooms are open to

A school house built by a mill for the mill children.

The medical unit for one of the newer mill villages. A great deal of money is spent by the mills of the South for health purposes.

The building in one of the newer mill villages which is used for the kindergarten.

A community house in one of the smaller mill villages of South Carolina.

all workers in the mill but the activities are available only to members who pay $3.00 a year in dues. Connecting with this building there is a girl's community house which is run by a church in the city. *C* represents another type which has a good sized house equipped with a library, a reading and game room, a swimming pool, and a small gymnasium.

The mills which are on the outskirts of towns and cities are confronted with different problems from those which the city mills must face. These communities may be easily accessible by street car or bus, or they may be within easy walking distance of the village or city. At any rate, they are apt to be considered as suburbs of the larger community, and, as in the case of other suburbanites, the facilities of the parent town are often used by the villagers. Some of the mill corporations, however, furnish community centers for their people.

Of the thirty-one mills of this type which were visited, seventeen have no community houses, and the others have. Eleven of the villages which have a central welfare building enter into the work on a rather elaborate scale. Naturally, all of the houses are not of the same size nor do they have the same equipment, but they all have specially planned facilities for carrying out the programs. All have game rooms and reading rooms, auditoriums, and kitchens; nine have gymnasiums, and eight have swimming pools. Of the three remaining mills which have such centers, one has a large banquet and meeting hall, another has a small club room for the men which is located over the company store, and the third has converted a worker's cottage into a general meeting place on a small scale. This latter mill also provides a swimming pool.

Among the country mills, the existence of community centers is more in evidence than among factories located on the outskirts of towns. Of eleven studied, eight have buildings of some sort. Most of these eight have excellently planned programs of welfare work which will be discussed in due time.

The cotton mills of the South have done a great deal of work along the lines of looking after the health of their workers. Some mills have a nurse and this mill nurse has a dual position. She must take care of any industrial accidents and look after the workers while they are in the mill. In addition to these duties she is usually health consultant for the entire village, performing services such as instructing mothers in the care of their babies, bandaging up cut fingers or toes

for the little ones, visiting homes where there is sickness, and, in fact, doing everything except bedside nursing to keep up the health and morale of the village. Often she is the only community worker and as such she is expected to lead in village club work, especially among the younger children. In some organizations there can be found health programs far more ambitious than those found in the ordinary community of the mill village size. Several of these will be mentioned later; but large or small, the health program occupies an important part in the welfare work of the southern mills.

Among the city mills visited there were ten who maintain some sort of health service and twelve who rely entirely upon the agencies provided by the city. Six of the ten merely employ a nurse to look after the first aid work and to check up on those who report absent on account of sickness. In the course of this line of duty she does general health work in the village. Three of the plants employ a company doctor. In these cases the workers pay a small amount each month which entitles them to complete medical attention for themselves and their families. Two of these mills employ a company nurse in addition to the doctor.

One city mill—a very large organization—has a complete health program. There are two trained nurses, one of whom stays at the dispensary at all times to take care of accident cases and the other who goes around in the village, checking on any sickness there. The company employs doctors from the large city in which the mills are located to hold clinics of all kinds at regular intervals. There is a baby clinic, a dental clinic, a kidney clinic, an eye, nose and throat clinic, and also a general clinic. This latter is held three times a week and the former are held once a week. The best specialists obtainable are hired and there is no cost to the workers.

Fourteen of the villages located on the outskirts of cities are dependent entirely on the doctors and hospitals in the city or in the county or those furnished by the insurance companies. Nineteen of that type of mill furnish some sort of medical service. Thirteen of these villages are served by one or more nurses depending upon the size of the community. The work done is largely general in nature such as that described in a preceding paragraph. Cases are handled as they occur but very little is done in a planned manner to educate the people in health activities. It is true that several have clinics and make some attempt at preventive as well as corrective tactics. The other six mills on the borders of towns have gone into the matter of health

more completely. *A* and *B* have well-furnished hospitals. The workers contribute a small percentage of their wages and in return are the recipients of complete medical and dental attention for themselves and family. They are also allowed the use of the hospital when needed. *C* has the same service as *A* and *B* except that no hospital has been provided. *D* has a small first aid room in charge of a competent nurse and an assistant. This, however, is merely a basis for a rather comprehensive series of weekly clinics held by the doctors of the nearby city and paid for entirely by the mill. *E* and *F* have medical centers in charge of competent trained nurses. Here are held clinics and first aid cases are attended to; the nurses call on the village sick, and in fact do everything done by any village nurse with one important addition. These nurses are occupying themselves with preventive work and with a systematic program of education among all the people of the village. This latter work is accomplished by means of a series of classes taught by the nurse in charge and by various doctors who are called in for that purpose. The former task—that of preventing illness—is done by means of a constant periodic checking of the health of the community, especially among the younger people. Health records are kept for all inhabitants and underweight children are given special attention.

Among the country mills two provide no special health activities, one arranges for cut-rate clinics as the need arises, and eight have some sort of medical or nursing attention. Half of these latter have nurses in the communities who do the general nursing work as previously described. Two have community nurses and company doctors and the villagers pay a small part of their wages for all medical service. The other mill has a most complete health program. All sorts of clinics are held and records are kept of every obstetrical case, of every baby, and of all cases of sickness in the village. Every person in the employ of the company is entitled to a free medical examination once a year and any person sent out by the overseer is examined. Each overseer is supposed to keep some track of his workers; and if they are not well, he is to send them to the dispensary. Of course every accident case, however slight, is taken care of by the department and a careful record is kept. In charge of the work is a head nurse and two or three assistants. They keep the records, check up on any sickness in the village, take care of the maternity cases, and keep the records of the babies. When there is any deviation from the normal or when the nurses feel that the doctor should be called, the

doctor of the village is consulted. The service rendered by the nurse is free but when the doctor is consulted a charge is made. Abnormal pre-natal cases, however, are looked after by the doctor free, and, the only charge made is for delivery. The doctor is also paid by the company for the periodic physical examinations and for the examinations necessary before employment. All of this work together with regularly held clinics is done at a health center—a thoroughly equipped small hospital.

The following tables give a summary of the health service which is offered by the mills. In this summary no attempt has been made to classify the different sorts of health work. The total given is merely the total of those mills having any sort of program.

TABLE 26

MILLS HAVING HEALTH SERVICE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LOCATION

	Total studied	Total having some sort of medical service
City mills	22	10
Border mills	33	19
Country mills	11	8

TABLE 27

MILLS HAVING HEALTH SERVICE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE

	Total	Total having service
Under 25,000 spindles	16	7
Between 25,000 and 50,000	16	7
Over 50,000	34	23

It will be seen from Table 26 that among the mills studied, location has a great deal to do with the extra-manufacturing medical activities carried on by the manufacturers. In other words, as in the case of the community buildings, the service is more apt to be rendered where it is needed. The country mill, cut off as it is from medical facilities of town or city, must supply aid of some kind for the people of the village.

The city mill on the other hand is not faced with the same problem. It is a fine thing from the humanitarian and from the business standpoint to check up on the health of the workers and their families. A sick man or a man with a sick family does not make the best worker,

but when the city doctor is close at hand there is not the same necessity for this service. And so we find that the percentage of those mills having health service varies in direct proportion to the need for that service.

In this connection it might be well to speak of the New England mills. The mill located in a small community of its own creation and situated five to twenty miles from any other villages of any size, does not exist in New England. Therefore the need for medical attention is not urgent and hence we find but few mills which have anything in the line of general health work. In the State of Massachusetts establishments employing over one hundred people are required to maintain a first aid room with a nurse in charge but the nurses so employed do not work among the families of the employees.

Another factor which differentiates the situations in the North and South is the absence of the mill villages around the New England mill. It is one thing to look after the health of workers who live all within a mile of one another in the company-owned village and another thing entirely to send a nurse to some distant part of a large industrial city to take care of a sick employee.

Considering the health service with reference to the size of the mills (Table 27), we see that among the mills studied we find what we would expect, namely, that the larger mills which can probably best afford the additional expense of a nurse, have provided that nurse or that medical service.

Some mention should be made of the care of old and faithful employees by the mill. Among the mills studied there were found no pension plans, though one group of mills was working on a plan which it hopes to establish soon. As in the furniture and lumber industries, the case of the aged is a matter which is not planned but is just done as a matter of course. The family is the first line of defense. The children are expected to take care of the parents when age makes it impossible for them to provide for themselves. However, a person in a mill village is not allowed to suffer if the want is known.

Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Ethelbert Stewart, has made the statement that an old person did not want charity, but that he preferred a job. In a number of the cotton mills this want is met by retaining faithful workers on lighter jobs after they are no longer able to carry on their former work. If a worker is incapacitated so that even light work is impossible, the company follows up the case. If the children can not help, the mill will give him free house rent or

perhaps see that he obtains groceries from the store or they may even send him a little money each week to do with as he desires. Each case is handled on its own merits but it is a general rule among southern cotton mill employers that those who have grown old in the service are entitled to some care and consideration when they can no longer be of any use about the mill.

The care of those who have had some unusual financial strain and who are, as a result, in need of the necessities of life, is also a haphazard undertaking in most cotton mills. There was found but one mutual benefit association which might care for such cases. Usually through the medium of the welfare workers, the resident ministers, the overseers, or a friend, the need is discovered. There are about a dozen ways of meeting this need. We shall make no attempt to classify these different methods nor to tabulate the number of mills having each variety. But we can safely say that the mill has some part in whatever method is used. It is merely a case of the company doing and paying for the work or paying and letting some outside or independent organization do the actual dispensing of the funds. It is not an uncommon occurrence that the workers join in the contributions. They may be asked to donate to a collection or as citizens of a community, they may give to the community chest. A favorite plan is to call on the mill for aid. If the company does help, and it usually does, it may use one of several methods. Money may be given outright to alleviate the need; at times house rent or groceries are granted free of charge; and often the mill advances money which is supposed to be paid back—a small amount each week when the worker is on his feet again.

In other villages, relief work is left entirely in the hands of the churches which may or may not cooperate among themselves. Other mill workers seek to help one another by "pasing 'round a paper," that is, taking a collection among themselves to relieve some fellow worker who is in need of help. Several villages are cared for in the matter of charity by some employee or community organization which gets the profits of various concessions in the community—the "pop wagon" in the mill, the movies, or the various sports. Some of the city mills and some of the mills in the more advanced counties rely upon the city and county community chests to which the mills, of course, are large contributors. Some mill villages have their own community chests. Here again the mills are large contributors, but the people themselves are asked to support this community activity. Other mills

have established credit unions among the workers, from which an employee can borrow in time of any special stress. Finally there was found one mutual benefit association. Under this scheme, each worker is required to contribute ten cents a week. In case of sickness lasting more than one week, the laborer receives seven dollars a week for as many as fourteen weeks, and in case of death there is a benefit of twenty-five dollars.

From this discussion it should be clear that the southern mill hand rarely finds himself destitute because of some ill fortune which may have temporarily befallen him. He may live in a city or in an isolated community, but there is some agency through which he may obtain aid.

As mentioned in the chapter concerning the furniture industry, group insurance is one of the methods used to aid the admittedly lower paid southern worker. Attention was called at that time to the opinion that "the generosity of employers who establish group policies for their employees should be highly commended, but to offer the presence of group insurance as an excuse for lower wages—as one of the 'wage equivalents as reduced or free house rent or other special services rendered by the companies to employees,' is certainly not in accordance with the spirit shown in instituting the group policy in the first place." Despite this fact, it is true that a group policy is an employer's gift to his workers, and as such it must be considered in a survey of this nature.

TABLE 28

GROUP INSURANCE IN THE SOUTHERN MILLS

Number of mills studied	Number having group insurance	Number having contributory policies	Number having non-contributory policies
66	33	18	15

Table 28 shows the extent of group insurance among the mills visited. All of the policies except one cover only life and permanent disability before sixty. That one policy carries a health clause under which a worker who can not work because of sickness receives ten dollars a week after the first week, for a period of thirteen weeks. The amount of coverage varies greatly, running from as low as $200 to as high as $3,000.

It will be noticed that half of the mills have in force a group pol-

icy and that of those thirty-three in force, the type of policy is about evenly divided. Fifteen concerns pay the entire cost of the insurance, while eighteen ask the employees to share in the expense of the premiums.

Table 29 is arranged to show how the policies are distributed among the mills of various sizes.

TABLE 29

GROUP INSURANCE IN THE SOUTHERN MILLS, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF MILL

	Number studied	Number having policy
Below 25,000 spindles	14	6
Between 25,000 and 50,000	20	11
Above 50,000	32	16

This table shows that the size of the mill evidently has little to do with whether or not the workers of that mill are protected by a group policy.

At several of the mills which have no group insurance, there are found so-called "Burial Societies." These are executed through, rather than by, the mill management. Those workers who belong pay a small sum (ten to twenty-five cents) into the treasury. When a member or one of his family, dies, a fixed amount is paid to the beneficiaries, and each member is again assessed the ten to twenty-five cents. The amounts run from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty dollars, but this is often sufficient to cover all funeral costs, especially when the mill sells coffins at wholesale as is done by one company.

The statement has been made frequently that the selling of fuel at wholesale by the mill to the workers helps out the pay envelope. Judging from the policies of the mills visited, this seems to be a true statement of facts. All but two or three of the border and country mills buy the coal and wood in large quantities, and sell it to the employees at the delivered cost. Several managers spoke of fuel retailing by the mill as being a custom of long standing but one which in time they hoped to dispense with. Among those border and country mills which do not sell fuel, are found large corporations which have decided to stick exclusively to the manufacturing business. This trend can be distinctly seen among the city mills studied, two-thirds

of which did not attempt to retail fuel to their workers. It would appear that this practice was born of necessity—the necessity of furnishing fuel to people who lived outside the delivery zone of the local coal retailers or who were not permanent enough to enjoy the credit necessary in order to buy any but the smallest amounts of coal and wood. Traces of this supposition appear in the fact that several mills, while not selling coal themselves, take orders and guarantee accounts for local dealers.

Large sums of money are spent by mills of the South for education. The management has decided that it is through the children that the best welfare work can be done—that the mills must have educated hands in the industry, if the industry is to survive and prosper. In conducting this survey, schools were visited and observed, but no attempt was made to visit schools other than those in mill villages.

Again the matter of location plays an important part in the work sponsored by the company. Every one of the city mills uses the schools provided by the city. Fourteen of the sixteen city mills visited use only the city schools. The other two have attempted to augment the work done by the city Boards of Education. Four have established kindergartens. Two employ teachers for continuation classes among the young people in the factories. Two of them support night schools, and in one, domestic science for mothers is taught several times each week. Two other mills have joined together with the city and state in the establishment of domestic science classes.

The situation among the border mills is quite different. Only two of those studied depended entirely upon the schools established by the county or the nearby city. Eight of the border establishments must be considered in two groups of five and three mills each. These are on the outskirts of two textile centers and have joined together in establishing with the county, school systems of their own. One of these school districts is now independent of the mills. The support comes from the school tax, most of which is paid by the companies. In the other case, the schools are still supported directly by the mills in the vicinity, though the county assumes the direction of the activities. Four other border mills cooperate in excess of their taxes by providing a building for the school. Only three have direct control of the schools—hiring, discharging, etc.; these collect what they can from their respective counties. The remaining twelve of this group have found that the funds available from the county are not sufficient

to maintain the type of modern city schools required by the mill villages or that it is impossible for the county to keep those modern schools open for the full nine months enjoyed by city schools. In order to have modern schools and to keep them open for the full session, the mills cooperate with the counties. Some pay for two extra months' work; others in addition pay for one or two extra teachers to instruct in such subjects as home economics or music. Some of these communities also support kindergartens for the younger children. No attempt was made to estimate the cost to the mills of these educational activities, but it no doubt amounts to a considerable sum.

Certain of the communities support programs which, while not necessarily typical, are important factors in the extra-labor plans of southern industrialists. These different things will be discussed before we turn to a survey of the mill villages and the housing situation in general.

The giving of Christmas presents seems to be customary, especially among the smaller mills. Sometimes each family receives a basket; at other mills the presents are limited to a small gift to all the children of the village. The community tree is also quite popular and the mill, of course, bears all expenses. Companies which are striving to get away from any vestige of paternalism are apt to provide for Christmas parties through gifts to the different churches of the village.

Often the people in small mill villages where the company does not provide free medical services find it difficult to obtain adequate medical attention. An example will show not only the reasons, but also the method sometimes employed to overcome this distinct danger. *A* is a small mill located about two miles from a city of 5,000 population. It is a new mill, but for many years there has been in operation another small mill which could be classified among the worst. Naturally this old mill has attracted a rather undesirable type of worker—the type which would call the doctor but never pay him. The new mill found that the doctors of the city had been cheated so many times that they were often unwilling to serve people from the cotton mill villages. The manager had printed some slips—"authorization to deduct from pay"—which he gave to the doctors. Now when a doctor is called, he has the patient sign one of those slips for the amount due. He then presents that slip to the office and receives his pay in full. In the event that the worker moves on without working out the debt, the company shares half the loss with the doctor. This method has been found to be very satisfactory to all concerned.

These two pictures illustrate the type of house in which the mill workers of the South live when the mill owners do not furnish a village. The rent is about twice as much as would be charged in a company town and the houses themselves are worse places to live in than any mill village we saw.—Columbus, Georgia.

Two company owned cottages in different parts of the South. They illustrate the newer types of houses being erected by the mills. The lower picture shows a prize winning garden. The mill offers a prize to the householder who has the prettiest home.

There are some newspapers and magazines published by southern mills for their employees. These, of course, contain mostly news of interest to the villages—the goings and comings of themselves and their friends or other general mill news. Other concerns may subscribe to a local paper or a local textile paper for each family of their working force. Often the overseers are supplied with technical textile papers or with a subscription to the *Southern Textile Bulletin.*

The children from the mill communities are sometimes given the opportunity to attend, at the expense of the company, camps in the country, sometimes privately owned and sometimes operated by the mills. Then again these camps consist of groups of cottages owned by the companies, which are rented at a very nominal rate to the different families in the village, some being reserved for each type of worker.

The payment of bonuses is not common in the southern mills. A few mills have in the past split with the workers when they have a good year. A few others have a production bonus paid either according to some plan worked out by the company or according to one of the more famous bonus systems. Again we find that weavers may receive a bonus based on the amount of first-class material they weave. In general, however, the wages paid represent the entire amount of cash given to the workers. There are one or two notable exceptions to this statement.

The other extras provided by some mills are better discussed in connection with the villages than in a general summary of extra-work activities. In this group we would include the support given the church, the company store, the mill farms, etc.

We come now to that much-discussed factor in the lives of the mill people—the mill village. This is not the place for discussions of the arguments for and against the mill village. We shall here attempt only to deal with the village in its relation to a method of augmenting, by cheap house rent, the weekly earnings of a cotton mill family. We shall also point out certain marked tendencies which are found among the several mill villages.

The mill village is found in connection with practically all of the southern cotton mills. Probably the outstanding exceptions are a few mills in and around Columbus, Georgia. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the mill village is not an institution conceived in the minds of autocratic managers for the purpose of exercising complete control over their workers. Its background is historical. It rose

when a new industry came to a section of the country which had been formerly entirely agricultural and when that new industry found that, if it were to have workers, it would have to house them. It has continued to exist because the new mills have been built outside the city limits for one reason or another, and again to have sufficient workers, it has been necessary to supply them with places to live. If southern history repeats New England history, the village will gradually disappear as the city or industrial section grows out to the mill and includes the mill village within its limits. However, the South presents a situation somewhat different in many aspects.

We need not mention the newness of the industrial South. But there is one factor usually overlooked in comparing the two sections which is likely to play an important part in future events. When we consider that the state of Virginia alone is as large as the whole of New England excluding Maine, it is clear that it may take many years or even centuries before even the Piedmont South is as highly industrialized as, let us say, Massachusetts. There will probably always remain in the South the country mill, and with the country mill is necessarily found some sort of company village and control.

As a section becomes more industrial and the population increases, the village becomes an excessive financial burden; and when that happens, the village gradually ceases to be. Opinions differ, of course, as to the ultimate disposition of the village, but it is interesting to note that several mill managers not only have expressed a willingness to sell the houses to the workers, but are actually doing so.

New mills are building villages, but new mills are locating in the country, making a village a necessity. The question may be asked why new mills are locating in the country rather than in the cities where no village would be necessary. Many factors must be considered. No doubt there are some managers who want to have complete control of everything and everybody around them, but there are others who find the construction of a village a cheap price to pay for the savings thus made on the purchase price of a site, the cheaper county taxes, and proximity to a railroad.

Among the new mills can be seen a distinct development. The first mill villages were sights to behold. Not only were all of the houses built alike, but they were poorly designed and cheaply constructed. No underpinning of any kind was used; sidewalks or leveled paths were seldom found and the streets were rough, rain-gullied, and well-nigh impassible. Often a tenant would plant flowers and try to

make his yard appear to better advantage, but it is difficult to improve surroundings under such discouraging circumstances. Such mill villages still exist, but they are rapidly declining relatively in number. Today the villages are planned. Boulevards and curved streets are substituted for a box-like layout; the houses seem better built, and have underpinning of brick or lattice work. Whereas the old village houses might have a faucet on the back porch and have merely outdoor toilet facilities, some of the newer cottages are fully equipped with bathrooms and hot and cold water faucets. The latest built village which came to our attention has houses equipped with electric ranges and electric water heaters—modern in every respect.

Many of the mills hire a landscape gardener to work around the village, helping the people as they need help and growing plants and flowers in a company-owned greenhouse to sell at a low price to the villagers. Prizes are often offered for the best-looking yard, and competition for these prizes is keen if we are to judge by the looks of the village.

A matter of great interest is the amount paid by the workers for their homes since it is in this connection that the southern employer appears to be doing the most for his workers. Twenty-five cents a room a week is the customary charge for the company house and it is the usual custom for electricity and water to be furnished free.

There are many exceptions. Some of the newer mills charge as high as ninety cents a room a week for their cottages and a little extra for lights. Other mills have reduced the rent and have either put lights on a meter, or charge a flat rate of so much a room or so much a light. There are a few who have house to suit the needs of every type of family, and charges are made according to the type of house and the conveniences supplied. Location often plays a part in the determination of the rate—the workers who live away from the mill pay less than those who are within a short walking distance. There does not appear to be any correlation between the location of the village and the rent charged. The exceptions mentioned are scattered among the three location groups. However, those mills which charge the highest prices are among the newer mills which furnish better homes. As nearly as could be ascertained, similar houses controlled by private landlords rent for from two to three times as much as the mill cottages.

In connection with the village life, some of the mills undertake

various programs. Several of the companies visited maintain farms for the raising of cattle, chickens, hogs, fruits, and vegetables. The products of these farms are sold to the workers at reduced prices. This makes an appreciable difference in living costs, but the practice is not general enough to offer it as a substitute for lower wages.

In several communities, banks have been established for the convenience of the workers. Other firms allow and encourage their people to deposit spare money at the company office. Interest is paid on these deposits and in at least one case that payment amounts to eight per cent. But this again is merely a convenience and rarely do the company banks have anything to do with the reduction of the cost of living among the southern cotton mill wage-earners.

Many of the community houses have facilities for the showing of moving pictures, and when these facilities are run by the mills, the workers have the benefit of good movies at a price slightly lower than that charged in the town or city. Libraries for the villagers are often donated by the mill. Sometimes these libraries are in connection with the schools, while at other times they are housed in the community buildings. Always, according to the management's statements, they are appreciated and the use of them is constantly increasing.

Lunch rooms are seldom found except in a few of the large mills. This is due primarily to the fact that most of the workers go home for lunch. Where lunch rooms run by the company do exist, the prices charged are very reasonable. In some of the villages, "hotels" are provided for the young unmarried people who do not live at home. Where this is done, the prices charged for board and room are extremely low and the food is very good. Five or six dollars a week is the usual charge for both services. Boarding houses are also maintained for the workers, and their prices are uniformly low. Drinks and candy are sometimes sold through the mill. In some instances this is a company proposition, at other times the athletic association or welfare association handles the matter, and often the concession is rented to some private person. On the sale of goods whose price is pretty well fixed by custom, the company sells no cheaper than an ordinary dealer.

Contrary to what might be expected, the company store seems to be more prevalent among the border mills than among those located in the country. Most of the country mills visited rent out their buildings to some local dealer or to some chain which makes a practice of running stores in mill-owned towns. Those mills which do own stores of their own run them as business propositions and not for philanthropic

One of the worst types of mill houses in one of the poorest villages visited. The picture does not really show the run-down condition of the place.

One of the latest mill houses in a very fine village. The house is of brick and there are several different kinds of houses in the village. The shrubs, etc., are planted by the mill.

Two cottages in the same village. The one above is of cheaper construction because it is to be rented to the type of worker known as the "floater." That this type does not appreciate a better class of house is illustrated by the fact that in this village one case was found of the worker having torn off the shingles to burn. The house shown below while it rents for the same amount as the other one is reserved for some family which has worked for the mill for some time.

purposes. The convenience to the people is great, but the prices are usually no lower nor higher than those charged in other stores. One or two managers said that they tried to sell staples at cost and make profits on what might be called luxuries. One store is run on a co-operative basis. The mill donates the building and equipment. The prices are the same as those charged in city chain stores. Each six months there is a dividend declared of from 8.5 to 12 per cent, and this is paid to each worker in the mill upon the amount he has purchased at the store. That dividend is paid only to those who are at the mill when it is declared, and this rule, it is admitted, tends to cut down the labor turnover.

The mills help the people by donating to their churches. This help is given in many ways. Sometimes the mill donates the building; another time it may be the pastor's salary which is partly met by the mill treasurer; often an arrangement is concluded by which the mill gives to the different churches according to the amounts raised by the congregations of these churches. There are various combinations of methods of giving aid, but every mill village has at least one church, and every mill village church, as every other church, calls upon the community for donations. The mills have, and they are therefore called upon and do donate to the churches. It would be difficult to say just what influence the mills' gifts have upon the policies and ideas of the preachers. Only a detailed study of the mill village church would give us any light on that.

Before closing this phase of our study as to what the mills are doing to augment in one way or another the wages of their people, it will be well to mention two unusual and unique ways in which the lives of the people of two villages are made more pleasant. Mill *A* encourages the people of the mill to build homes of their own, but realizing that home ownership entails expenses far greater than the twenty-five cents a week a room plus light and water charge for company houses, this mill agrees to furnish lights and water free to any one of the employees who builds his own home on the outskirts of the mill village. Mill *B* has decided that personal desires should have some part in the living conditions of the workers. They have therefore arranged so that after two years of residence in a cottage, a worker may ask for and receive free of charge, any reasonable change or improvement in his cottage. Some have asked for bathrooms, others have asked merely for a flour bin, but within reason, any change desired is made. These are only isolated cases, but they show that there are interesting possibilities for development in the present mill village.

We have now surveyed the various things which the southern mill men do for their employees in addition to the payment of wages. However, before saying that the expense of these services should be added to the earnings of the mill worker in the South, before comparing his earnings with those of the New England hand, we should look for a moment at the New England situation to see if the northern manufacturer is doing anything for his employees which in any comparison might cancel the extras given by the southern manufacturer.

Unfortunately, it was impossible to make as detailed a study of northern conditions as was made in the South. Fewer mills were covered, but an attempt was made to find out what the New England mill owner did for his workers.

The situation in New England is entirely different. Whereas many of the southern mills are in the country or on the edge of cities and towns, the country mill is practically unheard of in the North. Most of the spindles of New England are located in good sized cities or in industrial sections. As we saw in the South, a different situation exists as between the country and the city mill, so it is between the New England and the southern organization.

In the matter of community work, the mills do very little. The city agencies handle all kinds of club work, athletic work, etc. A few mills have community houses which are relics either of the early days of the industry when the same situation was faced as now in the South, or of the war period when money spent for welfare work was not taxed by the federal government as excess profits. In the latter case there is a feeling of regret that such a "white elephant" must now be kept on the books, and in the former case the building and equipment has probably been turned over to an organization of the employees. In other words, where there is no need for a community work, none exists. The industry in New England is old enough so that buildings and programs which are not needed have not hung on because of custom, but have disappeared through the years. However, the cost of welfare activities carried on must, in one way or another, be met by someone, and the mills do contribute largely to this support.

This last statement is also true in the matter of charity and health service. The northern mills pay their share of the bills, but the agencies are entirely independent. The northern mill worker receives, with one or two exceptions, all of the services furnished in southern mill villages, but he receives them as a citizen of his respective community rather than as a worker in his respective factory. But in every case, either through city taxation or voluntary contributions, the northern

mill pays for what its workers receive. A chief accountant of a large New England company explained the situation: "It makes no difference in the final balance sheet whether the account is called 'schools,' 'school tax,' or 'damage from marauding children.' There is an expense on industry which must be met, for the education of the young people. And likewise it is of immaterial difference in the last analysis whether the account is called 'welfare work,' or 'donations to city welfare organizations.'"

It should not be supposed that southern mill owners have nothing to do with the political units in which they do business. A mill manager contributes to city and county welfare agencies when they exist, as he pays school taxes and taxes for other community activities. The point is that the South is relatively poor, and many of the tasks undertaken by the northern county, city, or state are not attempted in many parts of the South. The mill has undertaken to raise the standards of public welfare and public education. It may be supposed that in time the southern states will undertake to maintain uniformly these standards, but until that time the mills which are progressive will continue to pay out money not only for the meagre services furnished by the state, but also for the higher standards which they believe in and which in other sections of the country are furnished by the state.

The two exceptions mentioned above are the selling of fuel at cost or less than retail prices, and the uniformly furnishing of living quarters for cheap rents. The first-mentioned service is not found at all among northern mills. The second requires an explanation.

Practically all of the mills visited in New England have had at one time mill villages, and most of them at the present time own a large number of houses which they rent to their employees and rent at very low rates—rates which, as in the South, are from thirty-three and a third to fifty per cent lower than those charged by independent landlords. The difference, then, lies in the fact that no longer do the New England managers undertake to supply living quarters to any worker who desires them. Those who do live in company houses pay no more than the southern workers, but only a very small percentage can live in those company buildings. Another difference is that the New England mills are getting rid of their houses quite rapidly, while this tendency is not so marked in the South.

Unfortunately, no professional assessor has ever, to our knowledge, attempted to figure just what a fair rent would be on the usual mill village house; and it is therefore rather hard to estimate just how much the southern mill manager is giving his workers when he rents them

houses at twenty-five cents a room a week. An Associated Press report from Marion, N. C., under a November 6, 1929, date line, reports that Magistrate Conley holds one dollar per room per week as reasonable rental for the Marion Manufacturing Company's houses. If this magistrate's decision means anything, the southern manufacturer is probably donating about seventy-five cents a week a room to each family occupying a company house. The average house is from two to five rooms.

We may conclude then that cheap house rent and cheap fuel must be held in mind when any comparison is made between the wages paid in the North and wages paid in the South. There seems, however, to be no reason why any other service given by the southern owner should be calculated in such a comparison, for in both North and South, the mills pay for the extras, the difference being that in the former section the payments are indirect, while in the latter they are both direct and indirect; but the fact that the indirect payments do not provide as much in the South as in the North make the direct contributions necessary.

CHAPTER IX

Cost of Living in the South

THE question of differences of cost of living in various cities and sections of the country is one on which we have almost as many different opinions as we have cities and sections. Each section would have prospective citizens believe that everything they buy will cost considerably less in that place.

We have seen that the South has the reputation of being a section of long hours and low wages. It is also true that the South has the reputation of being the part of the country where living costs are the lowest possible. Even the fact-finding National Industrial Conference Board has not been able to prove otherwise to the satisfaction of those most concerned, namely the exponents of the new South. In two research reports the cost of living among wage earners of Fall River, Mass., and of Greenville and Pelzer, S. C., and Charlotte, N. C., is discussed. The cost of maintaining the minimum budget in Fall River is given as $24.38 a week. In Greenville the cost is $26.80; in Pelzer, $26.43; and in Charlotte, $27.66 in company-owned houses, and $29.34 in non-company-owned houses. The Board gives the warning, however, that "while broadly comparable as representing in each case the cost of maintaining a minimum standard of living, close comparisons are not justified from the data given." [1]

These last words of caution are unfortunately not always heeded, with the result that the exponents of the New South seem to want to have nothing to do with the facts presented in these quoted reports, while those who are interested in proving how bad conditions are in the South, gleefully quote these figures without any reservations, at every possible occasion.

The question of whether it costs more to live in the North than in the South still remains unanswered. We do not propose to do any more than discuss this problem in the light of data collected, nor do we propose to state in dollars and cents how much it costs to maintain an arbitrary standard of living in the South.

In our opinion, any comparison which such close figures give is dangerous and likely to be wrong. In the first place, "cost of living" deals with prices of comparable things used by a standard sized fam-

1. These figures and quoted discussion are taken from the publications of the National Industrial Conference Board; Research Report Number 22, November, 1919; and Special Report Number 8, May, 1920.

ily. It does not deal with the differences in standards of living. Anyone who has lived in both North and South knows that a New England boiled dinner or a fish chowder will very likely be no more pleasing to the taste of a southern mountaineer than will spoon bread and molasses or fried white meat be to a New England worker. An Alabama merchant may not need a heavy winter overcoat, but certainly a New Englander does not need four or five linen suits for summer wear.

In other words, there may be a difference in what it costs to live in two sections of this country, but it is very likely to be based, not so much on prices as on what the people of a particular section think they need to maintain a fitting standard of living.

The cost of food is the item which makes up the largest individual part of the budget of workers receiving wages within the range of those received by employees of the industries we have discussed, and since there are some food items which are almost nation-wide in their use, comparisons can more easily and reasonably be made. Yet even on these food items, anything but a general comparison is not equitable.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics collects monthly information as to the prevailing prices of these food items in fifty-one cities situated in different sections of the country. During the field trip, prices on these same articles were collected from forty-six towns, cities, sawmill camps, and cotton mill villages. Blanks similar to the ones sent out by the Bureau were used for this work and every effort was made to get prices on the same standard articles at each of the stores visited. In some communities the price of fat back and bellies was ascertained since these are staples among the southern workers, though the two items are not listed on the government blanks.

In some of the larger places, two or three prices were obtained for each article, and in the tabulation of those figures, the high and the low prices, rather than an average, are listed. This was done because we did not feel that an average made up of two or three prices would be exactly a fair one to offer.

Any comparisons which are attempted from these figures must be very general, for customs differ in different sections of the country. For example, the price for tea will be seen to be almost universally very high in the South. But in our interviews with store managers, it was found that tea in that section is sold almost entirely in packages rather than loose, and package tea is usually higher in price. Another custom is the extensive use of so-called "native-meat" rather

than "western" or "packing house" meat. In the South, especially among the more isolated communities, the native meat, which sells for about ten cents per pound less than the other grade, is in greater demand than any other sort of meat.

Despite these obvious handicaps, we feel that the tabulations we present will enable the reader to gain some idea of how the cost of staples varies as between North and South, and between large city and small community.

Our data cover the months of June, July, September, October, November, and December, 1928, and January and February, 1929. In each case our original figures are given under the correct date and these are followed by the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the fifteenth of the same month, the fifteenth being the date line of all their retail price data. These latter figures are all taken from various copies of the *Monthly Labor Review* during the fall of 1928 and the spring of 1929.

We may make a few general observations on these tables and on the collection of the data. In the first place, the cost of meat in New England for this period was considerably higher than in any of the southern communities given. Other items average about the same for every community visited. There are numerous variations, but in most cases these are slight, some being lower in the South than in New England, and others being higher. The startling differences are so few and inconsistent that we must believe that whenever there is a big difference in price, barring the case of meats, it is due rather to the articles not being identical in quality than to any real differences in cost. A third observation is that the company stores visited cannot be accused of profiteering. Their prices are usually those of a credit store in a city, but as these company stores render the service of credit, they can hardly be expected to charge chain store prices for their goods.

These comparisons are very general, but the figures presented herein show conclusively, we believe, that with the exception of meats, the cost of food items in the South and the cost of the same items in the North is practically the same. If there is a difference between the two sections in the maintenance of a food budget of minimum standards of living, it is due to different standards of living in the two sections rather than to variations in price levels. Only a complete budget study would give us the facts needed to show the difference in cost of maintaining the different standards of the two sections of the country.

TABLE 30

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, June, 1928

	June 2, 1928 *Danville, Va.	June 6, 1928 *Martinsville, Va.	June 15, 1928 †Richmond, Va.	June 15, 1928 †Boston, Mass.	June 15, 1928 †Providence, R. I.	June 15, 1928 †Philadelphia, Pa.	June 15, 1928 †Fall River, Mass.	June 15, 1928 †Atlanta, Ga.	June 15, 1928 †Savannah, Ga.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	35.0	35.0	44.6	72.8	78.7	63.0	69.5	44.8	41.1
Round steak—pound	31.1	32.5	39.6	56.1	55.1	48.4	52.5	41.5	34.4
Rib roast—pound	27.5	.....	34.4	42.0	42.4	40.9	27.5	36.8	30.6
Chuck roast—pound	22.5	22.5	26.1	31.8	33.4	32.4	21.4	28.9	23.0
Plate boiling beef—pound	16.5	19.0	19.3	21.8	21.7	17.6	18.2	19.1	19.8
Pork chops—pound	27.5	27.5	34.4	36.2	38.6	39.6	35.5	34.9	30.6
Bacon—pound	32.5	40.0	40.1	40.9	40.7	41.9	42.1	40.6	38.2
Ham, sliced—pound	37.5	37.5	44.3	55.8	54.2	53.4	50.4	50.8	41.5
Leg of lamb—pound	37.5	45.0	47.7	43.6	45.3	45.2	45.1	42.9	42.5
Hens—pound	37.5	39.0	35.2	40.3	42.4	41.3	45.3	34.7	30.0
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	20.0(1)	32.0	35.4	34.1	34.1	32.2	36.3	35.0	35.9
Small bread—pound	10.0	9.0	9.2	8.6	9.0	9.3	8.7	10.8	10.6
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. (can)	11.3	12.5	12.2	11.6	11.5	11.6	12.4	13.2	11.0
Butter—pound	58.0	57.5	59.4	56.5	54.0	58.4	55.3	56.4	55.2
Oleomargarine—pound	25.7	25.0	29.9	28.7	26.8	28.8	26.8	25.7	30.2
Nut margarine—pound	35.0	30.0	.....	40.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	33.0	36.0	37.3	18.2	38.4	42.4	41.4	35.6	35.2
Lard, pure—pound	17.0	17.0	17.1	25.0	17.3	17.4	17.8	18.0	16.9

Eggs, strictly fresh—dozen	35.0	35.0	37.1	.....	47.3	42.5	49.9	36.8	36.8
Wheat flour—pound	5.9	5.2	5.6	6.0	5.9	5.3	6.0	6.8	6.9
Corn meal—pound	3.7	4.0	4.8	6.8	5.1	5.1	7.0	4.2	3.7
Rolled oats—pound	10.0	10.0	8.6	8.9	9.0	8.5	9.5	9.5	8.5
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg.	10.0	8.7	9.4	9.5	9.4	9.1	10.2	9.7	9.5
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg.	27.0	27.0	26.0	25.0	24.8	25.2	25.3	26.6	24.3
Macaroni—pound	19.8	19.2	19.9	21.7	22.9	20.7	23.4	21.3	18.0
Rice—pound	8.5	8.5	11.1	11.0	10.1	10.3	11.2	8.9	9.2
Beans (dried)—pound	10.0	10.7	13.0	11.8	12.9	11.1	12.7	12.8	11.3
Potatoes—pound	3.4	2.9 4.0	4.0	2.4	2.5	3.6	2.5	4.2	3.6
Onions—pound	9.0	8.5	7.3	6.4	6.1	5.4	6.3	8.0	7.6
Cabbage—pound	5.5	5.2	5.5	6.7	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.7	4.9
Beans, baked—No. 2 can	11.0	11.7	10.3	12.5	10.8	11.1	12.1	10.5	11.6
Corn—No. 2 can	15.0	17.5	15.0	17.5	17.1	14.7	17.4	17.6	15.3
Peas—No. 2 can	22.5	20.0	17.8	19.3	18.3	15.6	19.4	19.0	15.7
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	9.1	12.0	10.6	11.8	12.9	11.3	12.1	10.2	9.7
Sugar—pound	7.5	7.2	7.0	7.1	7.0	6.7	7.2	7.7	7.0
Tea—pound	$1.00.0	$1.00.0	89.8	72.4	60.1	68.7	58.2	$1.06.3	81.3
Coffee—pound	40.0	40.0	47.2	54.0	50.9	44.3	50.5	49.0	45.9
Prunes—pound	12.5	10.0	14.0	12.5	12.9	12.5	13.3	14.7	12.4
Raisins—pound	13.7	13.7	13.3	12.4	13.4	13.1	13.1	15.0	13.5
Bananas—dozen	40.0	40.0	36.4	44.0	32.1	29.9	9.0(2)	29.4	25.0
Oranges—dozen	50.0	50.0	64.4	43.7	73.9	67.8	62.9	62.8	58.2

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1928.

TABLE 31

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, July, 1928

	July 19, 1928 *Co. Store, Greenville, S. C.	July 16, 1928 *Greenville, S. C.		July 26, 1928 Co. Store, *Spartanburg, S. C.	July 24, 1928 *Spartanburg, S. C.		July 15, 1928 †Atlanta, Ga.	July 15, 1928 †Boston, Mass.	July 15, 1928 †Fall River, Mass.	July 15, 1928 †Philadelphia, Pa.	July 15, 1928 †Savannah, Ga.	July 15, 1928 Providence, R. I.
	Cts.	Cts.		Cts.	Cts.		Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin Steak—pound	40.0	40.0	45.0	30.0	35.0	45.0	46.0	73.1	74.4	65.9	41.7	80.4
Round steak—pound	35.0	35.0	40.0	30.0	30.0	40.0	42.9	62.4	57.2	52.6	34.4	57.7
Rib roast—pound	30.0	30.0	35.0	25.0	25.0	35.0	36.5	43.2	40.2	42.3	31.1	44.3
Chuck roast—pound	25.0	25.0	30.0	25.0	22.0	30.0	30.0	33.4	31.6	34.7	23.6	35.9
Plate boiling beef—pound	15.0	15.0	20.0	15.0	15.0	20.0	19.5	21.9	19.2	18.9	20.3	22.3
Pork chops—pound	30.0	30.0	35.0	35.0	30.0	40.0	35.8	39.7	38.1	41.0	30.3	42.0
Bacon—pound	38.0	30.0	38.0	40.0	35.0	45.0	40.8	41.3	42.2	42.3	38.1	41.3
Ham, sliced—pound	45.0	45.0	50.0	45.0	40.0		52.5	58.9	51.5	56.3	41.5	56.1
Leg of lamb—pound		45.0		.....	45.0		41.5	42.9	43.6	43.7	40.0	43.3
Hens—pound	30.0	28.0	30.0	.....	23.0	32.0	34.4	39.8	44.1	41.1	30.0	41.7
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	34.0	20.0(1)		20.0(1)	35.0		35.6	33.5	36.2	32.5	35.9	34.2
Small bread—pound	10.0	9.0	10.0	10.0	9.0	10.0	10.8	8.6	8.7	9.2	10.6	9.0
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. (can)	12.0	10.0	12.0	12.5	11.0	15.0	13.2	11.6	12.4	11.5	11.0	11.5
Butter—pound	60.0	50.0	60.0	60.0	55.0	60.0	56.5	56.3	55.6	58.1	54.5	54.8
Oleomargarine—pound	35.0	25.0	30.0	.....	.....	.....	26.0	28.3	25.9	28.5	29.9	25.7
Nut margarine—pound		.....	.....	.....	28.0		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	35.0	29.0	45.0	40.0	35.0	40.0	35.5	40.3	41.5	42.5	34.6	38.9
Lard, pure—pound	17.0	15.0	17.0	18.0	18.0	20.0	17.6	18.3	17.8	17.7	17.4	17.6

Eggs, fresh—dozen	35.0	35.0	37.0	40.0	42.0	45.0	40.0	58.9	53.3	44.6	42.8	53.8
Wheat flour—pound	6.3	4.7	6.7	4.9	5.5	5.9	6.8	6.0	5.9	5.4	6.7	5.9
Corn meal—pound	4.0	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.3	6.8	6.9	5.3	3.7	5.0
Rolled oats—pound	9.6	8.0	10.4	10.0	8.0	12.0	9.1	8.9	9.5	8.5	8.5	9.1
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	9.0	7.5	10.0	10.0	7.5	10.0	9.7	9.3	10.3	9.0	9.5	9.4
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	28.0	24.0	30.0	30.0	24.0	30.0	26.6	25.0	25.3	25.4	24.4	24.8
Macaroni—pound	22.4	17.6	22.4	22.4	17.6	28.8	21.3	21.6	22.9	20.7	18.2	22.6
Rice—pound	8.3	9.0	10.0	8.3	10.0		9.1	10.9	11.2	10.3	8.9	10.3
Beans (dried)—pound	12.5	10.0		12.5	10.0	15.0	13.0	12.2	12.8	11.0	11.8	12.5
Potatoes—pound	4.0	5.0		3.0	2.0	4.0	3.2	2.1	2.2	2.5	3.3	1.9
Onions—pound	10.0	10.0		10.0	7.0	8.0	7.5	5.8	6.3	5.4	7.1	5.8
Cabbage—pound	5.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	4.1	6.0	4.9	4.6	4.6	4.0
Beans, baked—No. 2 can	9.0	8.3	10.0	10.0	10.0	15.0	10.7	12.6	12.0	11.1	11.6	10.9
Corn—No. 2 can	13.0	15.0		15.0	15.0	18.0	17.5	17.5	17.3	14.7	15.3	17.1
Peas—No. 2 can	13.0	15.0	22.0	15.0	15.0	22.0	19.2	19.7	19.2	15.4	16.0	18.2
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	9.0	8.3	10.0	10.0	8.3	10.0	10.2	11.9	12.1	11.5	9.7	12.9
Sugar—pound	8.0	6.5	10.0	7.0	6.5	9.0	7.7	7.2	7.1	6.8	7.1	7.0
Tea—pound	60.0	86.0	$1.00.0	$1.00.0	79.0	92.0	$1.05.9	71.9	58.2	69.7	82.3	60.1
Coffee—pound	45.0	50.0		30.0	49.0	60.0	49.0	54.3	50.4	44.0	45.9	50.9
Prunes—pound	15.0	15.0		10.0	12.5	14.0	14.4	12.6	13.4	12.8	12.5	12.9
Raisins—pound	13.0	15.0		15.0	11.0	15.0	15.0	12.2	13.2	13.4	13.3	13.3
Bananas—dozen	30.0	30.0		40.0	30.0		27.8	44.0	9.0(2)	30.3	27.0	31.1
Oranges—dozen	50.0	75.0		50.0	50.0		62.7	68.0	61.9	66.2	57.7	75.1
Fat back—pound	.....	.....		18.0	.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.
(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.
†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1928.

TABLE 32

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, September, 1928

	Sept. 28, 1928 *Worthville, N. C.	Sept. 24, 1928 *High Point, N. C.		Sept. 15, 1928 †Fall River, Mass.	Sept. 15, 1928 †Philadelphia, Pa.	Sept. 15, 1928 †Providence, R. I.	Sept. 15, 1928 †Atlanta, Ga.	Sept. 15, 1928 †Boston, Mass.	Sept. 15, 1928 †Savannah, Ga.
	Cts.	Cts.		Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	30.0	35.0	40.0	78.4	68.1	84.6	48.3	78.6	41.4
Round steak—pound	30.0	35.0	40.0	60.5	54.4	60.1	44.6	65.9	35.0
Rib roast—pound	22.0	30.0	35.0	40.8	43.7	44.8	36.4	47.2	32.3
Chuck roast—pound	20.0	25.0	30.0	33.1	37.3	36.0	29.5	35.3	23.8
Plate boiling beef—pound	.....	17.5	25.0	21.0	19.9	25.4	19.3	24.3	19.2
Pork chops—pound	35.0	30.0	35.0	41.7	50.0	49.6	39.8	48.6	32.0
Bacon—pound	50.0	38.0	45.0	42.5	44.3	43.0	44.2	43.3	41.2
Ham, sliced—pound	40.0	40.0	50.0	52.8	59.9	57.1	55.4	61.5	44.5
Leg of lamb—pound	.....	45.0	50.0	42.9	43.0	41.7	40.5	42.0	40.8
Hens—pound	.....	28.0	32.0	45.8	42.0	42.9	35.0	41.2	31.0
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	22.0(1)	33.0	40.0	35.4	30.8	32.3	34.3	31.9	33.4
Small bread—pound	10.0	9.0	10.0	8.8	8.6	9.0	10.8	8.6	10.6
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. (can)	15.0	10.0	15.0	12.5	11.5	11.5	13.5	11.7	11.3
Butter—pound	55.0	55.0		57.7	61.2	56.9	58.5	58.8	58.7
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	18.0	25.0	26.0	28.8	27.2	26.5	28.2	30.5
Nut margarine—pound	.....	25.0	30.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	40.0	32.0	40.0	41.9	42.8	38.7	36.7	40.7	35.6
Lard, pure—pound	17.0	18.0		19.3	19.2	18.3	18.8	19.3	17.6

Eggs, fresh—dozen	40.0	45.0	50.0	67.5	54.8	65.4	45.5	71.0	51.0
Wheat flour—pound	5.5	5.1	5.5	5.8	5.1	5.5	6.5	5.7	6.5
Corn meal—pound	4.0	4.0	5.0	7.1	5.1	5.0	4.3	6.9	3.7
Rolled oats—pound	12.0	8.0	12.0	9.7	8.3	9.0	9.1	8.9	8.6
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg.	10.0	7.5	10.0	9.8	8.8	9.4	9.9	9.4	9.5
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg.	.....	24.0	30.0	25.3	25.3	24.8	26.3	25.0	24.3
Macaroni—pound	22.4	17.6	22.4	23.4	20.5	23.1	21.0	21.3	17.9
Rice—pound	12.0	10.0		11.2	10.5	10.4	9.2	11.1	8.8
Beans (dried)—pound	12.5	9.0	12.5	12.7	11.4	13.0	13.3	12.3	13.2
Potatoes—pound	3.0	2.5	3.0	1.8	2.3	2.1	3.3	2.2	2.9
Onions—pound	7.0	5.0	7.5	7.2	6.0	5.8	7.5	6.9	6.7
Cabbage—pound	5.0	3.0	3.5	6.1	5.8	4.8	4.6	5.2	4.9
Beans, baked—No. 2 can	12.5	10.0		12.4	11.4	11.4	11.0	12.4	11.8
Corn—No. 2 can	12.5	12.5	15.0	17.3	15.2	17.3	17.5	17.6	15.3
Peas—No. 2 can	18.0	12.5		19.6	15.6	18.9	19.2	19.9	16.0
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	12.5	9.0		12.3	11.7	12.8	10.4	12.3	9.7
Sugar—pound	8.0	6.3		7.0	6.6	6.8	7.5	7.0	7.0
Tea—pound	$1.20.0	95.0		59.2	71.4	60.1	$1.05.9	72.3	75.9
Coffee—pound	35.0	50.0		50.5	43.9	52.2	49.8	53.6	46.0
Prunes—pound	.....	10.0	12.5	13.3	12.2	13.1	14.9	12.8	13.7
Raisins—pound	.....	10.0	12.5	12.8	12.3	13.5	14.3	12.2	12.6
Bananas—dozen	8.0(2)	30.0	40.0	8.8(2)	28.8	31.4	29.4	41.7	28.5
Oranges—dozen	.....	60.0		72.8	66.8	82.9	63.2	75.1	65.6

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1928.

TABLE 33

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, October, 1928

	Oct. 8, 1928 *Statesville, N. C.	Oct. 10, 1928 *Hickory, N. C.	Oct. 11, 1928 *Lenoir, N. C.	Oct. 11, 1928 Co. store, *Waynesville, N. C.	Oct. 18, 1928 Co. store, *East Laport, N. C.	Oct. 23, 1928 *Charlotte, N. C.	Oct. 24, 1928 *Cramerton, N. C.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	35.0	40.0	35.0	.....	35.0	40.0 50.0	35.0
Round steak—pound	35.0	35.0	35.0	.....	30.0	38.0 40.0	35.0
Rib roast—pound	25.0	25.0	33.0	.....	25.0	30.0	25.0
Chuck roast—pound	25.0	22.0 27.5	33.0	.....	25.0	22.0 30.0	25.0
Plate boiling beef—pound	15.0 20.0	16.0	20.0	.....	25.0	18.0 20.0	20.0
Pork chops—pound	30.0 35.0	35.0	35.0	.....	40.0	35.0 40.0	35.0
Bacon—pound	35.0 40.0	35.0 43.0	50.0	35.0	50.0	38.0 50.0	45.0
Ham, sliced—pound	50.0	45.0	50.0	40.0	50.0	50.0	50.0
Leg of lamb—pound	40.0 50.0	40.0 45.0	.....	.....	35.0	40.0	.....
Hens—pound	25.0 30.0	25.0 27.0	25.0	.....	25.0	35.0	30.0
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	32.0	.....	33.0 40.0	40.0	25.0(1)	19.0(1) 25.0(1)	20.0(1)
Small bread—pound	9.0 10.0	9.0	9.0 10.0	10.0	10.0	9.0 10.0	10.0
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. (can)	11.0 12.5	11.0 12.5	11.0	15.0	15.0	12.0	12.0
Butter—pound	59.0 60.0	58.0	55.0 60.0	60.0	60.0	58.0 60.0	60.0
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	25.0	.....	.....	35.0	25.0	.....
Nut margarine—pound	30.0	.....	27.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	40.0	38.0	31.0 45.0	40.0	40.0	32.0 40.0	35.0
Lard, pure—pound	.....	22.0	17.0 20.0	17.0	25.0	22.0 20.0	17.0
Eggs, fresh—dozen	45.0 50.0	46.0 50.0	50.0	50.0	44.0	48.0 60.0	45.0

Wheat flour—pound	5.5		5.7		4.8		5.4		4.5		5.7		5.3		5.1		4.5			
Corn meal—pound	3.5				4.0				4.0		4.0		4.0		5.0		3.5			
Rolled oats—pound	8.0		9.9		8.8		9.6		8.0	9.9	10.4		9.6		8.0	9.9	13.0			
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	8.5		12.5		9.0				7.5	12.5	13.0		10.0		8.5	12.5	10.0			
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	25.0		30.0		24.0				24.0	25.0	30.0		30.0		24.0	30.0	25.0			
Macaroni—pound	19.2				17.6				17.7	22.4	22.4		22.4		19.2	22.4	22.4			
Rice—pound	9.5				7.0		10.0		10.0		8.0		10.0		10.0		10.0			
Beans (dried)—pound	12.5				12.5				10.0		10.0		12.5		12.0		12.0			
Potatoes—pound	3.0				2.5				2.5		2.5		3.0		2.0		3.5			
Onions—pound	6.0				5.0				6.0		8.0		6.0		8.0	10.0	10.0			
Cabbage—pound	3.0		4.0		3.0				3.0	4.0	4.0		3.0		4.0	5.0	5.0			
Beans, baked—No. 2 can	10.0		12.5		10.0		11.0		10.0	12.5	15.0		12.5		10.0	12.5	12.0			
Corn—No. 2 can	14.0		25.0		15.0				12.5	20.0	15.0		15.0		18.0	20.0	18.0			
Peas—No. 2 can	12.5		35.0		20.0				12.5	20.0	20.0		20.0		24.0	25.0	20.0			
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	10.0		20.0		10.0				8.3	20.0	15.0		20.0		9.0	15.0	10.0			
Sugar—pound	6.2		8.0		6.5				6.2	10.0	8.0		8.0		6.5	8.3	9.0			
Tea—pound	85.0		$1.00.0		94.0				92.0	$1.00.0	$1.00.0		$1.00.0		90.0		$1.00.0			
Coffee—pound	27.0		52.0		52.0				37.0	49.0	35.0	60.0	40.0	55.0	35.0	50.0	35.0	55.0		
Prunes—pound	15.0				12.0		16.0		10.0		.....		15.0		12.0	15.0	15.0			
Raisins—pound	12.5		20.0		9.0		12.5		10.0	20.0	15.0		20.0		12.0	15.0	15.0			
Bananas—dozen	40.0				9.0(2)				40.0		10.0(2)		50.0		40.0		35.0			
Oranges—dozen	60.0				68.0				60.0		60.0		60.0		55.0		50.0			
Fat back—pound	20.0				18.0				18.0		.....		.....		18.0	25.0	20.0			
Bellies—pound	.....				.....				.....		25.0		25.0		24.0	28.0	.....			

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

TABLE 33—Continued

COST OF FOOD IN SELECTED CITIES, OCTOBER, 1928

	Oct. 24, 1928 *McAdenville, N. C.	Oct. 31, 1928 *Thomasville, N. C.	Oct. 15, 1928 †Fall River, Mass.	Oct. 15, 1928 †Philadelphia, Pa.	Oct. 15, 1928 †Providence, R. I.	Oct. 15, 1928 †Atlanta, Ga.	Oct. 15, 1928 †Boston, Mass.	Oct. 15, 1928 †Savannah, Ga.
	Cts	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	40.0	.....	74.3	64.4	82.7	48.8	76.1	40.5
Round steak—pound	40.0	.....	59.1	51.3	58.9	45.4	63.3	34.1
Rib roast—pound	25.0	.....	41.5	42.8	45.2	35.9	44.9	32.3
Chuck roast—pound	25.0	.....	32.7	36.8	35.8	30.0	33.9	23.1
Plate boiling beef—pound	18.0	.....	20.0	20.5	25.0	19.8	23.7	18.8
Pork chops—pound	35.0	.....	39.8	40.1	42.6	37.9	39.2	31.8
Bacon—pound	50.0	45.0	42.7	43.7	43.0	44.5	43.1	40.6
Ham, sliced—pound	50.0	.....	53.2	58.7	58.2	54.6	60.6	46.0
Leg of lamb—pound	.....	.....	40.6	41.4	39.8	40.1	39.4	40.8
Hens—pound	25.0	.....	45.2	42.6	42.9	36.1	40.8	31.1
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	20.0(1)	29.0	34.7	30.0	32.4	34.3	31.4	33.1
Small bread—pound	10.0	9.0	8.8	8.6	9.0	10.8	8.6	10.6
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. (can)	12.5	12.0	12.8	11.5	11.7	13.5	11.7	11.4
Butter—pound	60.0	58.0	57.5	60.7	57.2	58.9	58.8	58.9
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	.....	27.1	29.0	26.7	27.6	28.8	30.1
Nut margarine—pound	.....	29.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	35.0	34.0	42.5	42.8	39.1	36.7	40.8	35.4
Lard, pure—pound	15.0	17.0	19.2	19.4	19.0	18.6	19.3	18.1
Eggs, fresh—dozen	55.0	45.0	76.6	60.5	74.5	50.5	73.0	57.1

Wheat flour—pound	4.6	5.1	5.7	4.8	5.3	6.6	5.4	6.5
Corn meal—pound	3.5	3.5	7.2	5.3	5.1	4.3	6.8	3.7
Rolled oats—pound	9.9	8.0	9.7	8.4	8.9	8.8	9.0	8.5
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	10.0	8.5	9.8	8.9	9.3	9.7	9.3	9.5
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	28.0	24.0	25.3	25.4	24.8	26.3	25.0	24.3
Macaroni—pound	22.4	19.2	22.9	20.2	22.5	21.0	21.4	18.0
Rice—pound	8.3	7.5	10.8	10.6	10.2	9.4	10.6	9.1
Beans (dried)—pound	12.0	12.0	12.8	11.5	13.1	13.7	12.1	12.8
Potatoes—pound	3.5	2.5	1.9	2.2	1.9	3.4	2.1	3.0
Onions—pound	8.3	6.5	7.5	6.2	6.4	7.6	7.3	6.9
Cabbage—pound	5.0	4.0	5.7	5.4	5.3	4.8	5.3	5.1
Beans, baked—No. 2 can	12.5	10.0	12.8	11.2	11.1	11.3	12.4	11.8
Corn—No. 2 can	12.5	10.0	17.2	15.3	17.4	17.4	17.3	15.2
Peas—No. 2 can	15.0	19.0	19.6	15.5	18.3	19.2	19.5	16.6
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	10.0	10.0	12.6	11.6	12.9	11.2	12.7	10.0
Sugar—pound	9.0	6.0	6.8	6.3	6.6	7.5	6.9	6.7
Tea—pound	$1.00.0	86.0	58.3	71.2	60.7	$1.03.9	72.3	79.9
Coffee—pound	35.0 55.0	29.0 52.0	50.9	44.3	52.7	50.3	53.9	46.3
Prunes—pound	.....	12.5	13.5	12.4	12.7	14.9	13.4	13.5
Raisins—pound	12.5	10.0	13.2	11.4	13.1	13.0	11.9	12.3
Bananas—dozen	35.0	10.0(2)	9.0(2)	29.4	32.9	29.4	42.5	30.6
Oranges—dozen	50.0	50.0	61.5	68.5	78.4	50.8	70.4	50.9
Fat back—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bellies—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1928.

TABLE 34

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, November, 1928

	Nov. 1, 1928 *Erlanger, N. C.	Nov. 5, 1928 * Rockingham, N. C.		Nov. 6, 1928 *Camden, S. C.	Nov. 9, 1928 *Chester, S. C.	Nov. 9, 1928 *Union, S. C.		Nov. 16, 1928 *Pelzer, S. C.	Nov. 18, 1928 *Anderson, S. C.
	Cts.	Cts.		Cts.	Cts.	Cts.		Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	30.0	40.0		45.0	35.0	35.0		40.0	35.0
Round steak—pound	30.0	35.0		40.0	33.0	35.0		30.0	35.0
Rib roast—pound	25.0	.....		38.0	32.0	30.0		25.0	25.0
Chuck roast—pound	25.0	.....		35.0	25.0	30.0		25.0	25.0
Plate boiling beef—pound	17.0	20.0		20.0	18.0	20.0		15.0	15.0
Pork chops—pound	35.0	35.0		30.0	35.0	35.0		35.0	35.0
Bacon—pound	45.0	50.0		35.0	35.0	35.0		50.0	50.0
Ham, sliced—pound	50.0	50.0		50.0	50.0	50.0		45.0	40.0
Leg of lamb—pound	.....	.....		45.0	50.0	45.0		.....	.....
Hens—pound	40.0	30.0		35.0	35.0	25.0		22.0	.....
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	20.0(1)	25.0(1)		19.0(1)	20.0(1)	20.0(1)		35.0	20.0(1)
Small bread—pound	10.0	9.0	10.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. can	15.0	12.0	15.0	11.0	12.0	11.0	12.0	12.5	12.5
Butter—pound	60.0	58.0	60.0	55.0	58.0	55.0	60.0	60.0	60.0
Oleomargarine—pound	30.0	.....		.....	30.0	.....		.....	.....
Nut margarine—pound	.....	.....		.....	.....	.....		.....	.....
American cheese—pound	45.0	31.0	35.0	31.0	35.0	31.0	35.0	37.5	35.0
Lard, pure—pound	24.0	17.0	22.0	17.0	21.0	17.0	20.0	16.0	20.0
Eggs, fresh—dozen	50.0	43.0	50.0	55.0	50.0	50.0		50.0	.....

Eggs, storage—dozen	.....	.....	44.0	50.0	44.0	50.0	45.0	45.0
Wheat flour—pound	5.9	3.8 4.4	4.8	4.2	3.8	5.1	5.5	4.6
Corn meal—pound	3.5	3.5 4.0	3.5	3.5	4.0		3.2	4.0
Rolled oats—pound	9.9	8.0 12.0	8.0	5.5	8.0	9.6	9.9	9.9
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	10.0	8.3 10.0	8.3	9.0	8.3	10.0	10.0	10.0
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	30.0	27.0	24.0	26.0	24.0	30.0	30.0	30.0
Macaroni—pound	22.4	19.2 22.4	17.6	22.4	17.6	22.4	22.4	22.4
Rice—pound	11.5	6.2 8.0	5.0	10.0	6.2	10.0	6.0 8.0	8.3
Beans (dried)—pound	12.0	12.5	10.0	12.5	12.5		10.0	10.0
Potatoes—pound	2.5	3.0	2.3	3.0	2.3	4.0	3.5	3.3
Onions—pound	.....	7.5 8.0	6.2	8.0	4.2	8.0	8.0	8.3
Cabbage—pound	5.0	4.0 5.0	5.0	5.0	4.5	5.0	4.0	4.0
Baked beans—No. 2 can	10.0	10.0 15.0	10.0	15.0	10.0	12.5	12.0	10.0
Corn—No. 2 can	15.0	15.0 20.0	12.5	14.0	12.5	15.0	15.0	15.0
Peas—No. 2 can	15.0	22.0 20.0	12.5	14.0	12.5	15.0	15.0	15.0
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	10.0	10.0 20.0	10.0	10.0	10.0		10.0	10.0
Sugar—pound	8.0	6.2 8.0	6.2	6.5	6.0	7.5	7.0	6.5
Tea—pound	$1.00.0	84.0	.....	98.0	74.0	$1.10.0	50.0	.....
Coffee—pound	35.0 60.0	35.0 50.0	37.0 51.0	30.0 53.0	35.0	51.0	40.0 55.0	40.0 55.0
Prunes—pound	15.0	15.0	12.5	12.0	12.5	15.0	12.0	15.0
Raisins—pound	12.5	10.0	10.0	12.5	10.0	15.0	12.0	15.0
Bananas—dozen	35.0	35.0 50.0	9.0(2)	9.0(2)	35.0		30.0	30.0
Oranges—dozen	40.0	45.0 50.0	50.0	50.0	40.0	50.0	40.0	30.0
Fat back—pound	.....	20.0	17.0	16.0	17.0	18.0	.....	18.0
Bellies—pound	.....	22.0	20.0	25.0	20.0	22.0	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.
(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

TABLE 34—Continued

COST OF FOOD IN SELECTED CITIES, NOVEMBER, 1928

	Nov. 19, 1928 *Toccoa, Ga.		Nov. 21, 1928 *Gainsville, Ga.	Nov. 15, 1928 †Fall River, Mass.	Nov. 15, 1928 †Philadelphia, Pa.	Nov. 15, 1928 †Providence, R. I.	Nov. 15, 1928 †Atlanta, Ga.	Nov. 15, 1928 †Boston, Mass.	Nov. 15, 1928 †Savannah, Ga.
	Cts.		Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	35.0	40.0	50.0	70.3	62.8	80.8	49.1	76.2	40.5
Round steak—pound	35.0	40.0	40.0	56.5	49.0	58.2	44.1	60.6	34.5
Rib roast—pound	20.0	25.0	40.0	39.8	42.5	44.8	36.1	44.8	32.3
Chuck roast—pound	20.0	25.0	35.0	29.9	35.4	36.4	30.2	34.4	23.4
Plate boiling beef—pound	20.0		30.0	18.8	20.6	25.6	19.6	23.3	19.8
Pork chops—pound	25.0	30.0	35.0	36.2	37.8	40.7	33.9	38.3	30.0
Bacon—pound	30.0	40.0	40.0	42.0	42.7	41.7	42.5	43.0	39.6
Ham, sliced—pound	35.0	45.0	50.0	52.6	58.4	57.3	56.3	59.6	45.4
Leg of lamb—pound	.....		35.0 60.0	41.5	40.6	39.8	39.1	38.8	39.0
Hens—pound	.....		45.0	44.0	41.9	42.9	36.9	40.7	32.0
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	32.0		23.0(1)	34.4	29.3	32.1	34.8	31.3	33.1
Small bread—pound	10.0		10.0	8.8	8.3	9.0	10.8	8.6	10.6
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. (can)	12.0		14.0	12.6	11.3	11.9	13.8	11.7	11.3
Butter—pound	60.0		60.0	57.3	61.8	57.3	59.4	59.3	59.4
Oleomargarine—pound	25.0		.....	27.1	29.5	26.9	28.4	29.3	30.3
Nut margarine—pound	.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	35.0		35.0	41.8	42.8	38.4	36.9	40.6	35.2
Lard, pure—pound	17.0		20.0	18.6	18.6	18.6	18.9	18.9	18.4
Eggs, fresh—dozen	50.0		50.0	80.7	66.4	78.9	54.1	81.5	58.6
Eggs, storage—dozen	45.0		45.0	51.6	44.7	45.3	45.8	49.4	41.7

Wheat flour—pound	4.8	6.4	4.4	5.7	5.6	4.7	5.3	6.7	5.4	6.5
Corn meal—pound		3.0		3.0	7.1	5.2	5.0	4.4	7.0	3.7
Rolled oats—pound	8.0	10.4		12.0	9.5	8.3	9.0	9.5	9.0	8.4
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg.		10.0		10.0	9.8	8.9	9.4	9.8	9.4	9.8
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg.	24.0	25.0		25.0	25.0	25.2	24.8	26.7	25.0	24.4
Macaroni—pound		22.4		22.4	23.7	20.3	22.8	21.8	21.3	17.8
Rice—pound	8.0	10.0		10.0	10.8	10.5	10.1	9.5	10.8	9.0
Beans (dried)—pound	10.0	12.5		15.0	12.6	11.8	12.9	14.1	12.1	13.5
Potatoes—pound		3.0		4.0	1.9	2.2	1.8	3.5	2.0	2.9
Onions—pound	8.0	10.0		10.0	7.6	6.4	7.0	8.6	7.4	7.3
Cabbage—pound		3.0		5.0	5.8	4.9	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.1
Beans, baked—No. 2 can	10.0	13.0		15.0	12.6	11.3	11.2	11.8	12.7	11.8
Corn—No. 2 can		15.0		15.0	16.5	15.4	17.3	17.9	17.6	15.1
Peas—No. 2 can		15.0		20.0	19.1	15.5	18.3	20.9	19.8	16.3
Tomatoes—No. 2 can		10.0		10.0	12.5	11.8	12.9	11.7	13.0	10.0
Sugar—pound		7.0		6.5	6.8	6.2	6.4	7.4	6.8	6.6
Tea—pound	$1.00	.0	$1.00	.0	58.8	70.4	60.4	$1.06	.4	72.5	77.6
Coffee—pound	30.0	50.0	35.0	47.0	50.6	44.2	52.3	52.2	53.8	46.8
Prunes—pound		15.0		15.0	14.1	12.2	13.5	15.2	13.6	13.6
Raisins—pound		10.0		20.0	12.8	11.2	12.7	13.2	11.9	11.8
Bananas—dozen	25.0	30.0		30.0	9.3(2)	30.2	33.6	28.9	44.2	30.0
Oranges—dozen	30.0	35.0		40.0	49.8	55.2	61.1	36.7	61.9	42.1
Fat back—pound		16.0		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bellies—pound		20.0		22.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1929.

TABLE 35

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, December, 1928

	Dec. 4, 1928	Dec. 8, 1928	Dec. 12, 1928	Dec. 15, 1928	Dec. 19, 1928	Dec. 26, 1928
	*Varnville, S. C.	Co. store, *Eastport, Fla.	Co. store, *Osceola, Fla.	Co. store, *Carbur, Fla.	Co. store, *Bagdad, Fla.	Co. store, *Century, Fla.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	.....	35.0 40.0	50.0	35.0 45.0	25.0 35.0	.....
Round steak—pound	.....	30.0 35.0	45.0	30.0 35.0	25.0 35.0	.....
Rib roast—pound	.....	25.0 35.0	.....	30.0 35.0	20.0	.....
Chuck roast—pound	.....	25.0	.....	25.0 30.0	20.0	.....
Plate boiling beef—pound	.....	15.0 20.0	20.0	25.0 30.0	15.0	.....
Pork chops—pound	.....	30.0	30.0	25.0 40.0	25.0	.....
Bacon—pound	.....	30.0	32.0	40.0 60.0	40.0	30.0
Ham, sliced—pound	.....	50.0	38.0	50.0	40.0	.....
Leg of lamb—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	25.0	.....
Hens—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	30.0	.....
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	20.0(1)	35.0	25.0(1)	25.0(1)	20.0(1)	35.0
Small bread—pound	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	8.3	10.0
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. can	12.5	12.0	15.0	12.5	12.5	12.5
Butter—pound	55.0	60.0	40.0	60.0	55.0	60.0
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	30.0 45.0	.....	.....	35.0	.....
Nut margarine—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	30.0	.....
American cheese—pound	30.0	40.0	35.0	40.0	35.0	35.0
Lard, pure—pound	15.0	18.0	18.0	20.0	20.0	18.0
Eggs, fresh—dozen	50.0	60.0	65.0	50.0	60.0	50.0

Eggs, storage—dozen	.....		50.0		.....		.....		45.0		.....	
Wheat flour—pound	4.5	5.5		6.7	6.1		5.1	5.5		4.6		5.5
Corn meal—pound	4.0		5.0		5.0		4.0		4.0		4.0	
Rolled oats—pound	9.6		8.0		12.0		9.9		8.0		9.9	
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	10.0		10.0		10.0		12.5		10.0		10.0	
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	25.0		15.0		25.0		30.0		30.0		20.0	
Macaroni—pound	17.6		22.4		22.4		22.4		17.7		22.4	
Rice—pound	6.0		8.0		15.0		8.3		7.0		10.0	
Beans (dried)—pound	12.5		14.0		10.0		15.0		14.0		12.5	
Potatoes—pound	2.0		3.5		5.0		4.0		3.0		3.0	
Onions—pound	8.0		10.0		10.0		10.0		7.0		7.0	
Cabbage—pound	5.0		5.0		5.0		5.0		4.0		5.0	
Baked beans—No. 2 can	10.0		10.0		15.0		12.5		10.0		10.0	
Corn—No. 2 can	12.5		20.0		25.0		25.0		15.0		12.5	
Peas—No. 2 can	25.0		30.0		25.0		30.0		20.0		11.0	
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	12.0		10.0		15.0		15.0		12.5		11.0	
Sugar—pound	6.0		8.0		9.0		10.0		7.0		6.3	
Tea—pound	$1.00.0		$1.00.0		.....		$1.00.0		$1.00.0		$1.00.0	
Coffee—pound	30.0	55.0	35.0	50.0	50.0		50.0	35.0	55.0	40.0	55.0	
Prunes—pound	10.0		15.0		.....		.....	12.5	15.0	20.0		
Raisins—pound	10.0		15.0		15.0		15.0		12.5		15.0	
Bananas—dozen	.....		.....		.....		40.0		35.0		40.0	
Oranges—dozen	25.0		.....		40.0		25.0	30.0	40.0	25.0	50.0	
Fat back—pound	15.0		.....		.....		.....		18.0		18.0	
Bellies—pound	20.0		.....		.....		.....		20.0		.....	

(1) Pink salmon.

*Figures collected by authors.

TABLE 35—Continued

COST OF FOOD IN SELECTED CITIES, DECEMBER, 1928

	Dec. 27, 1928 Co. store, *Chapman, Ala.	Dec. 28, 1928 *Lockhart, Ala.	Dec. 15, 1928 †Fall River, Mass.	Dec. 15, 1928 †Philadelphia, Pa.	Dec. 15, 1928 †Providence, R. I.	Dec. 15, 1928 †Atlanta, Ga.	Dec. 15 1928 †Boston, Mass.	Dec. 15, 1928 †Savannah, Ga.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin Steak—pound	.....	30.0	70.3	62.4	80.4	48.1	74.7	40.5
Round steak—pound	.....	30.0	56.4	49.0	56.9	43.4	60.3	34.5
Rib roast—pound	.....	25.0	38.5	41.7	44.5	35.3	43.1	30.9
Chuck roast—pound	.....	20.0	30.3	34.5	35.7	29.7	33.6	22.9
Plate boiling beef—pound	.....	20.0	18.0	20.1	24.7	9.6	22.9	18.8
Pork chops—pound	.....	25.0	30.5	35.4	35.0	32.5	32.2	27.7
Bacon—pound	35.0	60.0	40.9	42.0	40.7	40.9	42.0	38.5
Ham, sliced—pound	30.0	60.0	52.3	56.8	55.3	56.3	57.4	44.6
Leg of lamb—pound	.....	.....	40.4	41.7	39.0	39.7	38.1	37.5
Hens—pound	.....	.....	43.7	41.9	41.9	36.3	40.1	33.1
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	25.0(1)	25.0(1)	34.0	29.3	30.6	34.8	30.9	33.0
Small bread—pound	10.0	10.0	9.0	8.4	9.1	10.8	8.6	10.7
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. can	10.0	12.5	12.5	11.5	11.8	14.0	11.9	11.2
Butter—pound	60.0	60.0	58.1	62.8	57.6	59.5	60.2	60.0
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	.....	27.5	29.0	26.5	28.4	29.3	30.5
Nut margarine—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cheese—pound	35.0	35.0	41.6	42.1	38.6	37.4	40.6	35.4
Lard, pure—pound	20.0	20.0	17.7	18.4	18.0	18.9	18.5	18.1
Eggs, fresh—dozen	45.0	50.0	79.2	64.6	69.6	55.8	73.8	56.2

Eggs, storage—dozen	40.0	50.0	51.3	44.1	44.6	45.7	46.8	41.9
Wheat flour—pound	5.1	4.8 5.7	5.5	4.7	5.2	6.6	5.3	6.5
Corn meal—pound	4.0	3.5	7.4	5.2	5.0	4.4	7.0	3.5
Rolled oats—pound	9.9	9.9	9.5	8.3	8.9	9.7	9.0	8.3
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	12.5	10.0	9.9	8.8	9.6	9.8	9.3	9.8
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	30.0	20.0	25.0	24.6	24.8	26.5	25.0	24.4
Macaroni—pound	22.4	17.7	22.9	20.3	22.8	21.8	21.0	18.2
Rice—pound	7.0	8.0	11.2	10.4	9.8	10.0	10.8	8.7
Beans (dried)—pound	10.0	12.5	12.8	12.2	13.0	15.1	12.3	13.9
Potatoes—pound	4.0	4.0	1.8	2.3	1.8	3.6	2.0	3.0
Onions—pound	6.0	8.3	7.7	6.9	7.0	8.9	7.8	7.5
Cabbage—pound	6.0	8.0	5.9	5.4	5.1	5.6	5.2	5.2
Baked beans—No. 2 can	12.5	12.5	12.4	11.4	11.3	11.5	12.7	11.4
Corn—No. 2 can	20.0	15.0	16.7	15.5	17.1	18.8	17.3	15.1
Peas—No. 2 can	25.0	15.0	19.0	16.1	18.4	19.7	19.7	16.0
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	15.0	10.0	13.3	12.0	12.9	11.8	13.0	10.0
Sugar—pound	6.2	20.0	6.8	6.1	6.4	7.4	6.7	6.5
Tea—pound	70.0	25.0	58.2	69.0	60.6	$1.08.2	72.5	75.3
Coffee—pound	35.0 50.0	35.0 55.0	50.6	43.9	52.4	52.8	54.0	47.3
Prunes—pound	20.0	.....	13.9	12.0	13.7	15.9	13.7	13.3
Raisins—pound	.....	12.5	12.2	11.0	12.6	13.6	11.2	11.8
Bananas—dozen	40.0	40.0	9.8(2)	30.3	31.9	28.6	44.2	28.5
Oranges—dozen	.....	40.0	47.8	44.2	54.8	34.4	51.8	30.5
Fat back—pound	.....	21.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bellies—pound	26.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review,* February, 1929.

TABLE 36

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, January, 1929

	Jan. 4, 1929 *Lagrange, Ga.		Jan. 15, 1929 *Anniston, Ala.		Jan. 17, 1929 *Gadsden, Ala.	Jan. 17, 1929 Co. store, Gadsden, Ala.	Jan. 18, 1929 *Huntsville, Ala.	Jan. 25, 1929 *Laurel, Miss.
	Cts.		Cts.		Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	35.0	65.0	40.0	50.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	35.0
Round steak—pound		35.0	35.0	45.0	40.0	35.0	35.0	35.0
Rib roast—pound		30.0	30.0	40.0	35.0	35.0	28.0	30.0
Chuck roast—pound		25.0	25.0	30.0	25.0	20.0	22.0	20.0
Plate boiling beef—pound		25.0	15.0	20.0	20.0	12.5	20.0	15.0
Pork chops—pound		30.0		30.0	30.0	30.0	28.0	30.0
Bacon—pound		35.0	35.0	45.0	40.0	40.0	33.0	29.0
Ham, sliced—pound		50.0		50.0	50.0	50.0	55.0	55.0
Leg of lamb—pound		40.0		45.0	50.0	40.0	35.0	60.0
Hens—pound		.....		30.0	.....	25.0	30.0	40.0
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)		40.0		35.0	35.0	35.0	32.0	25.0(1)
Small bread—pound		10.0		10.0	.....	10.0	10.0	10.0
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. can	12.0	15.0		12.5	11.0	10.0	11.0	12.0
Butter—pound	60.0	65.0		60.0	55.0	60.0	59.0	55.0
Oleomargarine—pound		.....		25.0	.....	45.0	23.0	29.0
Nut margarine—pound		.....		.....	.....	35.0	.....	24.0
American cheese—pound	32.0	35.0		40.0	35.0	40.0	35.0	35.0
Lard, pure—pound	18.0	20.0		20.0	11.0	20.0	17.0	18.0

Eggs, fresh—dozen	48.0	50.0	50.0	45.0	45.0	43.0	45.0													
Wheat flour—pound	4.6	6.1	6.1	.....	4.6	6.1	5.1	5.4	5.6											
Corn meal—pound	4.0	5.0	3.0	.....	.....	2.2	4.5													
Rolled oats—pound	8.8	12.0	9.9	.....	9.9	8.0	9.6													
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	10.0		10.0	9.0	10.0	9.0	9.0													
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	24.0	25.0	25.0	26.0	25.0	24.0	25.0													
Macaroni—pound	22.4	27.2	22.4	.....	22.4	19.2	19.2													
Rice—pound	9.0	12.5	25.0	.....	10.0	8.0	7.5													
Beans (dried)—pound	15.0	20.0	12.5	.....	15.0	12.0	14.0													
Potatoes—pound	3.0		4.0	4.0	3.5	3.0	2.0	3.5												
Onions—pound	7.5	10.0	8.0	10.0	8.3	7.5	8.0													
Cabbage—pound	5.0	8.0	6.0	.....	6.0	5.0	7.0													
Baked beans—No. 2 can	11.0	12.5	12.5	9.0	12.5	10.0	11.0													
Corn—No. 2 can	25.0		12.5	17.0	15.0	14.0	10.0	15.0												
Peas—No. 2 can	24.0		15.0	20.0	15.0	19.0	10.0	29.0												
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	10.0	15.0	12.5	10.0	10.0	10.0	12.0													
Sugar—pound	7.5	8.3	8.0	.....	7.5	7.0	6.0													
Tea—pound	$1.00.0		$1.00.0	29.0	45.0	94.0	88.0													
Coffee—pound	30.0	50.0	50.0	43.0	45.0	35.0	45.0	33.0	50.0	25.0	52.0									
Prunes—pound	15.0	20.0	15.0	20.0	.....	15.0	10.0	12.5												
Raisins—pound	12.5		12.5	10.0	12.5	11.0	10.0													
Bananas—dozen	30.0		10.0(2)	.....	30.0	35.0	9.0(2)	8.0(2)												
Oranges—dozen	30.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	25.0	50.0													
Fat back—pound	18.0		25.0	.....	20.0	25.0	17.5	21.0												

(1) Pink salmon.

(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.

TABLE 36—Continued

COST OF FOOD IN SELECTED CITIES, JANUARY, 1929

	Jan. 28, 1929 Co. store, *Riderwood, Ala.	Jan. 15, 1929 †Atlanta, Ga.	Jan. 15, 1929 †Boston, Mass.	Jan. 15, 1929 †Fall River, Mass.	Jan. 15, 1929 †Philadelphia, Pa.	Jan. 15, 1929 †Savannah, Ga.	Jan. 15, 1929 †Providence, R. I.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin steak—pound	35.0	48.3	73.1	69.8	62.2	40.0	79.2
Round steak—pound	35.0	43.3	58.3	54.6	48.9	33.6	57.0
Rib roast—pound	25.0	35.7	43.1	37.5	41.4	31.4	44.2
Chuck roast—pound	25.0	28.6	33.6	29.4	33.8	23.3	35.1
Plate boiling beef—pound	20.0	19.7	23.0	18.7	19.5	18.5	25.0
Pork chops—pound	30.0	33.0	33.5	32.5	34.5	27.5	34.6
Bacon—pound	50.0	40.5	42.0	40.0	41.7	37.0	40.8
Ham, sliced—pound	50.0	55.3	60.5	52.6	57.0	42.8	54.3
Leg of lamb—pound	.....	39.4	40.2	42.7	42.8	38.3	42.6
Hens—pound	.....	36.5	40.8	44.8	41.9	32.2	42.1
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	35.0	35.2	30.9	33.8	29.0	33.0	30.5
Small bread—pound	10.0	10.8	8.6	8.9	8.3	10.7	9.0
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. can	12.5	13.6	11.9	12.7	11.6	11.4	11.8
Butter—pound	60.0	59.5	59.4	58.3	61.5	59.7	57.9
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	29.4	30.1	27.8	29.1	30.5	26.6
Nut margarine—pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	40.0	37.4	40.6	42.1	42.2	35.3	39.0
Lard, pure—pound	20.0	18.6	18.5	17.6	17.7	19.3	17.7

Eggs, fresh—dozen	50.0	51.7	73.8	64.8	57.1	42.8	61.4
Wheat flour—pound	5.5	6.6	5.3	5.5	4.6	6.4	5.1
Corn meal—pound	3.3	4.4	7.0	7.5	5.3	3.7	5.1
Rolled oats—pound	9.9	9.9	8.9	9.6	8.3	8.4	9.0
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	12.5	9.8	9.4	9.9	8.8	9.7	9.5
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	25.0	27.0	25.2	25.0	24.6	24.4	24.8
Macaroni—pound	19.2	21.5	21.3	23.7	20.2	17.8	22.8
Rice—pound	10.0	9.7	10.5	10.9	10.3	8.9	10.0
Beans (dried)—pound	17.5	14.8	12.6	13.2	13.0	13.5	12.8
Potatoes—pound	3.0 5.0	3.5	2.1	1.9	2.3	2.8	1.9
Onions—pound	6.0 8.0	9.3	7.8	8.4	7.3	7.8	7.6
Cabbage—pound	6.0	6.6	6.0	7.2	5.7	5.5	6.7
Baked beans—No. 2 can	12.5	11.5	12.5	12.3	11.4	11.0	11.4
Corn—No. 2 can	15.0	18.6	18.1	16.8	15.3	15.6	17.2
Peas—No. 2 can	20.0	18.5	19.9	19.4	15.8	17.0	17.9
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	12.5	12.5	13.0	13.3	12.1	10.7	13.5
Sugar—pound	10.0	7.4	6.7	6.8	6.1	6.4	6.4
Tea—pound	$1.00.0	$1.05.5	76.8	58.2	70.5	80.9	59.8
Coffee—pound	45.0 60.0	53.0	53.8	49.6	43.7	46.9	51.3
Prunes—pound	20.0	15.5	14.3	13.5	12.8	12.4	13.5
Raisins—pound	20.0	13.3	10.8	12.1	10.6	11.8	12.5
Bananas—dozen	40.0	27.9	45.8	10.0(2)	31.4	30.5	32.1
Oranges—dozen	40.0	32.6	51.6	45.4	40.5	29.7	54.4
Fat back—pound	20.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.
(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.
†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review,* March, 1929.

TABLE 37

Cost of Food in Selected Cities, February, 1929

	Feb. 1, 1929 *Picayune, Miss.	Feb. 13, 1929 Co. store, *Slagle, La.	Feb. 13, 1929 Co. store, *Clarks, La.	Feb. 13, 1929 Co. store, *Fisher, La.	Feb. 14, 1929 Co. store, *Deweyville, Tex.	Feb. 15, 1929 †Fall River, Mass.	Feb. 15, 1929 †Philadelphia, Pa.	Feb. 15, 1929 †Providence, R. I.	Feb. 15, 1929 †Atlanta, Ga.	Feb. 15, 1929 †Boston, Mass.	Feb. 15, 1929 †Savannah Ga.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Sirloin Steak—pound	30.0 40.0	30.0	35.0	35.0	30.0	68.4	59.7	78.3	42.0	73.2	36.1
Round steak—pound	30.0 35.0	.....	35.0	30.0 35.0	30.0	52.1	46.2	51.8	38.3	55.3	28.9
Rib roast—pound	25.0 30.0	25.0	25.0	30.0	.....	35.6	40.6	41.8	33.1	42.7	27.8
Chuck roast—pound	20.0 25.0	20.0	25.0	30.0	20.0	27.5	30.9	33.2	25.6	31.1	18.9
Plate boiling beef—pound	20.0	.....	20.0	20.0	.....	17.3	18.0	20.7	16.9	21.9	16.9
Pork chops—pound	35.0	30.0	35.0	30.0 35.0	25.0 35.0	28.7	31.7	30.9	29.9	30.5	29.8
Bacon—pound	45.0	27.0	60.0	35.0	30.0 40.0	41.3	40.5	40.2	43.3	42.5	39.7
Ham, sliced—pound	60.0	40.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.2	53.2	54.1	50.8	55.1	42.5
Leg of lamb—pound	40.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	40.7	39.3	38.9	37.9	38.2	38.0
Hens—pound	40.0	.....	$1.00.0 each	.....	$1.00.0 each	41.3	40.5	41.3	36.6	40.2	30.9
Salmon (red)—pound (canned)	50.0	35.0	20.0(1)	35.0	35.0	36.0	33.0	33.3	34.0	34.4	34.3
Small bread—pound	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	8.8	9.4	9.0	10.8	8.6	10.6
Milk, evaporated—15-16 oz. can	12.5	12.0	12.5	13.0	15.0	12.5	11.7	12.0	13.8	12.0	11.2
Butter—pound	60.0	55.0	60.0	60.0	55.0 60.0	56.1	60.5	54.8	57.0	58.7	57.4
Oleomargarine—pound	.....	.....	35.0	.....	.....	27.1	28.6	25.7	27.2	28.4	31.5
Nut margarine—pound	40.0	.....	30.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American cheese—pound	40.0	30.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	41.9	42.9	38.7	37.8	40.6	38.2
Lard, pure—pound	20.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.5	16.8	17.7	17.9	18.6	17.5
Eggs, fresh—dozen	35.0	30.0	35.0	30.0	40.0	55.9	51.5	55.3	43.3	59.9	36.3

Wheat flour—pound	4.8	5.9	4.4	5.1	4.2	5.3	4.4	4.6	5.7	4.8	5.5	6.3	5.8	6.5
Corn meal—pound	4.0		.....		3.0		4.5	4.0	6.9	5.3	5.1	4.0	6.7	3.6
Rolled oats—pound	9.9		8.0		9.9		9.9	12.0	9.6	8.5	9.0	9.6	9.0	8.8
Corn flakes—8 oz. pkg	10.0		10.0		10.0		10.0	10.0	10.0	9.4	9.5	9.7	9.8	9.6
Wheat cereal—28 oz. pkg	30.0		20.0		30.0		30.0	25.0	25.3	25.0	24.7	26.6	24.9	24.4
Macaroni—pound	19.2		22.4		16.0		22.4	22.4	23.4	20.8	22.9	21.3	21.9	17.8
Rice—pound	6.0	8.0	10.0		8.3		7.0	6.0	11.3	10.9	10.5	8.9	11.8	9.7
Beans (dried)—pound	14.5		15.0		12.5		15.0	18.0	10.2	9.9	10.0	10.7	10.4	10.2
Potatoes—pound	2.5		4.0		2.6		3.0	3.0	3.2	3.5	3.0	4.1	3.2	3.5
Onions—pound	9.0		10.0		10.0		9.0	10.0	5.2	4.6	5.2	7.4	5.3	6.2
Cabbage—pound	4.0		6.0		5.0		6.0	4.0	6.9	3.8	5.4	5.0	6.0	5.2
Baked beans—No. 2 can	15.0		12.0		12.5		12.5	15.0	11.9	10.8	10.8	10.7	12.7	11.6
Corn—No. 2 can	15.0		12.0		15.0		12.5	15.0	17.3	14.4	17.0	17.5	17.5	14.6
Peas—No. 2 can	15.0		15.0		20.0		20.0	20.0	19.5	15.5	18.6	18.9	20.0	17.3
Tomatoes—No. 2 can	12.5		10.0		12.5		12.5	15.0	12.3	11.5	13.1	10.3	11.8	9.9
Sugar—pound	6.5		7.0		5.5		6.0	8.0	7.3	6.6	6.9	7.4	7.1	6.7
Tea—pound	$1.00.0		75.0		$1.20.0		$1.25.0	$1.00.0	60.7	68.9	59.7	$1.06.1	72.3	78.3
Coffee—pound	35.0	58.0	30.0	45.0	35.0	60.0	35.0	65.0	30.0	60.0	49.8	42.6	50.6	48.8	53.0	43.9
Prunes—pound	20.0		20.0		20.0		20.0	20.0	14.7	12.7	12.6	14.1	13.3	12.7
Raisins—pound	10.0		10.0		15.0		15.0	15.0	13.6	13.1	13.4	15.4	12.7	13.8
Bananas—dozen	20.0		35.0		40.0		35.0	35.0	10.2(2)	30.7	32.9	28.8	48.0	30.8
Oranges—dozen	40.0		50.0		60.0		60.0	40.0	53.3	46.4	58.8	42.3	52.9	40.8
Fat back—pound	23.0		.....		.....		20.0	20.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bellies—pound	.....		.....		30.0		.....	25.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

(1) Pink salmon.
(2) Per pound.

*Figures collected by authors.
†Figures from *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1929.

CHAPTER X

Conclusion

THE rapid industrialization of the old South has affected profoundly the many traditions and institutions of the region. Large factories, new and complex machines, the mill village, and the many other radical changes which were necessary in converting an agricultural region into an industrial community have brought with them many grave economic and social problems. The laboring classes have been transferred from accustomed surroundings to an environment entirely new to them. They have awakened to find themselves transplanted from their hovels on their mountain or tenant farms to the village surrounding the mill where they are brought face to face with new conditions and new surroundings. Under such circumstances they have not only found it necessary to adjust themselves to a new social environment, but they have had to learn new processes and the technique of new machines. In their endeavor to fit themselves into this new field of work they have found little time to reflect upon their own personal welfare and interests. In adjusting themselves to this new environment the workers have no past experiences on which to draw; they have no basis for judging the value of their services to their employer. Though their wages are low and their hours of work are long, it all appears easy to them when compared to the drudgery to which they have been accustomed on their mountain or tenant farms.

The southern workers receive lower money wages and are supposed to work longer hours than any other group of workers of similar size in the United States. It has been shown that in 1927 the eleven southern states had 12.6 per cent of the total manufacturing establishments of the United States, produced 10.2 per cent of the value of manufactured output, and employed 14.0 per cent of the total number of workers, while such workers were paid only 9.2 per cent of the aggregate wages. These statistics indicate that the workers in the New Industrial South receive on the average a money wage much below that of the country as a whole.

Our study of the wages paid the workers in the cotton textile, furniture, and lumber industries serves to confirm the above conclusion. In the cotton textile industry it was found that for a number of selected tasks the average full time weekly earnings in the South were

$5.70 less than those in the North, while the actual weekly earnings in the South were $6.71 less than similar earnings in the North. This difference in money wages exists despite the fact that the textile workers of the South are supposed to work from five to six hours more each week than those of the North.

In the lumber industry wages were also found to be very low. In this industry, though the southern workers work from eight to ten hours longer each week than similar workers in the northwest, they receive from twenty to thirty cents per hour less than the workers in the northwest.

In the furniture industry of the South, low wages and long hours also prevail. In North Carolina the average actual weekly earnings were found to be $17.73, while the lowest paid group of workers within the industry was paid a weekly wage of only $9.94. In Tennessee the average actual weekly wage was $18.81; while in Virginia the average actual weekly wage was $16.43. Though the average actual money wages in the furniture industry are slightly higher than those paid in the cotton textile industry, it should be remembered that the money wages in the furniture industry are practically all the remuneration which is received by the workers, since little is done in the way of furnishing cheap house rent and providing fuel at cost.

Though money wages are admittedly low in the New Industrial South, there are those who contend that there are other items, which, when added to the money wage make real or commodity wages equal to similar wages throughout the country. While we have shown that many southern mill owners do a great deal for their workers, we are inclined to believe that in many instances this point has been overemphasized. It is true that in many southern factories the real wages of the workers are enhanced by the two items of cheap house rent and fuel at cost. In speaking of wages in the textile industry, it is generally true that the two items should be given consideration; but in other industries, such as the furniture industry, for instance, the furnishing of cheap house rent and cheap fuel is an exception rather than the rule.

We have shown that many of the southern cotton mill owners have provided elaborate welfare systems for their workers. While these facilities have been provided and are maintained at considerable expense to the mill owners, we believe that such services should not be taken into account when attempting to make a comparison of wages in the North and the South. The southern mills, for the most part,

are located outside of political units, and if any provisions are to be made for the welfare of the workers they must be made by the mill owners themselves. In the North, most of the mills are located within incorporated communities, and the mill owners pay higher taxes and make other indirect contributions for the support of welfare work. Furthermore, many of the southern mill owners do little for the welfare of their workers, and such mills pay practically the same wages as those paid by the mills which have splendid welfare systems.

The chief motive back of the development of these welfare systems and the provisions made for the greater safety of the workers, is no doubt the desire to increase the efficiency of the workers. While the mill managers of the old South may have developed such systems because of a paternal feeling for their workers, the present mill operators are prompted by the desire for greater efficiency. To have a healthful, well satisfied group of workers means greater efficiency, less labor turnover, and a decrease in the labor cost per unit of product.

In any attempted comparison of relative wages North and South the problem of cost of living demands consideration. Unfortunately the lack of both time and money made impossible any extensive study of living costs. Statistics have been presented which indicate in a general way that the differences in the cost of food between the North and the South are not as great as many would have us believe. These statistics show that with the exception of meats, the price of most standard foods is about the same in the two regions. And in the case of meats the difference is probably due to a considerable extent to the quality of meats consumed in the two regions.

In our opinion money wages in the South are so low that the workers are able to maintain a standard of living which is considerably lower than that of similar workers in New England. There are indications, however, which point to a slow but gradual improvement. New capital is flowing into the South for the development of industries other than textiles, and such diversification of industry will no doubt offer greater opportunities for the laboring classes, and will in time result in the general improvement of their living standards.

APPENDIX

IN THE presentation of wage statistics, averages should be broken up and classified in order that a really correct idea of the existing situation may be obtained. We here present for the three states in which furniture statistics were gathered (North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) the average and classified actual earnings per pay period, and the average and classified rates per hour for all the occupations.

It will be observed that in every instance there is a wide range between the high and the low actual wage and the high and low average rate for an occupation. This is in accordance with our statement in Chapter III, that the wages paid in the southern furniture factories depend more upon the individual skill and the length of service than upon the particular job held by the worker.

TABLE 38

AVERAGE ACTUAL AND CLASSIFIED ACTUAL EARNINGS PER PAY PERIOD, NORTH CAROLINA—TWO-WEEK PERIOD

	Average number of wage earners	Average actual earnings per pay period	Under $10	$10 and under $15	$15 and under $20	$20 and under $25	$25 and under $30	$30 and under $35	$35 and under $40	$40 and under $45	$45 and under $50	$50 and under $55	$55 and under $60	$60 and under $65	$65 and under $70	$70 and over
Total—machine operators	397	$40.04	2	4	7	18	37	63	67	79	52	19	30	13	5	1
Cut off sawvers	22	43.94	....	....	.....	....	2	3	2	6	4	1	2	1	1	....
Rip sawyers	19	37.78	....	....	.....	1	3	2	5	6	1	....	....	1	....	....
Combination and variety sawyers	10	42.25	....	....	.....	....	1	1	....	5	2	1	....	....	....	....
Band sawyers	26	45.51	....	....	1	1	2	1	1	3	10	....	5	2	....	....
Lathe operators	21	38.15	....	1	.....	1	4	2	3	2	5	1	2	....	....	....
Shaper operators	34	44.03	....	....	1	....	1	3	6	7	8	2	4	2	....	....
Tenoner operators	12	44.66	....	1	.....	1	.....	1	....	3	....	1	4	1	....	....
Moulder operators	21	46.55	....	....	.....	1	1	1	....	5	5	4	1	3	....	....
Sanding machine operators	95	36.48	1	....	2	4	16	21	21	15	7	4	1	3	....	....
Planer operators	17	38.54	....	1	.....	1	.....	4	4	3	2	....	2	....	....	....
Miscellaneous machine operators	54	37.86	....	1	2	6	3	13	9	9	5	....	1	....	4	1
General machine operators	66	39.83	1	....	1	2	4	11	16	15	3	5	8	....	....	....
Glue workers	29	33.40	....	....	3	4	4	5	4	5	3	1	....	....	....	....
Tail boys	178	19.87	17	22	49	49	24	14	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Machine room foremen	14	76.52	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	....	....	....	2	1	2	1	8
Total—cabinet room workers	294	41.08	3	7	10	19	23	23	31	60	39	33	32	7	2	5
Case fitters	97	48.56	....	....	.....	1	2	1	11	21	15	20	21	3	1	1
Clamp operators	25	36.30	1	....	.....	1	5	3	3	4	6	....	....	....	....	2

Frame builders	6	45.60	....	....	.....	....	.....	1	....	3	....	1	1	....	....	....
Drawer makers	6	29.91	....	1	.....	1	.....	2	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....
Vanity makers	17	46.46	....	....	.....	....	.....	1	2	5	4	3	1	1	....	....
General cabinet room workers	73	43.60	....	3	.....	3	7	3	5	21	10	7	8	3	1	2
Helpers—cabinet room	48	24.80	2	3	8	12	9	9	4	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Chair drivers	22	38.39	....	....	2	1	.....	3	5	5	3	2	1	....	....	....
Total — finishing room	313	$33.98	11	5	13	51	57	52	33	31	17	17	14	6	3	3
Brush workers	41	36.16	1	....	....	4	2	10	8	10	4	....	2	....	....	....
Spray operators	69	42.32	....	....	1	3	4	13	9	12	6	10	9	....	2	....
Filler rubbers	97	27.39	6	2	5	22	32	14	9	3	2	2	....	....	....	....
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	64	24.03	4	3	7	20	19	7	3	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
General finishing room	42	48.51	....	....	....	2	.....	8	4	5	5	5	3	6	1	3
Hand sanders	210	28.62	10	24	16	17	37	41	37	19	4	4	....	1	....	....
Yard workers	89	27.05	1	3	2	15	43	20	4	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Craters and packers	134	31.54	4	8	5	9	25	41	15	14	8	3	2	....	....	....
Upfitters and glass setters	23	46.62	....	....	1	.....	1	1	6	1	3	3	3	3	1	....
Rubbers	121	37.57	2	5	3	4	8	14	29	20	30	4	1	1	....	....
Mechanics	44	51.04	1	....	....	1	2	.....	1	4	14	6	5	4	2	4
Firemen and night watchmen	27	46.74	....	....	....	.....	.....	3	5	3	5	6	2	3	....	....
Sweepers	18	27.09	....	....	1	5	10	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Others	55	45.84	....	....	1	1	3	6	9	9	8	8	4	2	....	4
Totals for North Carolina	1,946	35.46	51	78	111	193	274	284	245	246	183	106	94	42	14	25

TABLE 39

AVERAGE ACTUAL AND CLASSIFIED ACTUAL EARNINGS PER PAY PERIOD, TENNESSEE—ONE-WEEK PERIOD

	Average number of wage earners	Average actual earnings per pay period	Under $5	$5 and under $10	$10 and under $15	$15 and under $20	$20 and under $25	$25 and under $30	$30 and under $35	$35 and under $40	$40 and over
Total—machine operators	178	$21.62	....	3	21	49	45	45	10	5	....
Cut off sawyers	15	25.33	....	....	1	3	1	6	1	3	....
Rip sawyers	14	19.78	....	....	1	7	5	1	....	....	....
Combination and variety sawyers	9	19.90	....	....	2	2	3	2	....	....	....
Band sawyers	14	22.97	....	....	2	1	5	5	1	....	....
Lathe operators	7	25.79	....	....	....	2	....	3	2	....	....
Shaper operators	13	25.20	....	....	1	....	4	7	1	....	....
Tenoner operators	13	20.74	....	....	3	2	3	5	....	....	....
Moulder operators	7	28.04	....	....	....	2	....	1	2	2	....
Sanding machine operators	49	19.20	....	2	8	17	14	7	1	....	....
Planer operators	7	24.22	....	....	....	2	1	3	1	....	....
Miscellaneous machine operators	21	20.06	....	1	3	6	7	3	1	....	....
General machine operators	9	20.65	....	....	....	5	2	2	....	....	....
Glue workers	30	20.42	....	....	6	7	12	4	1	....	....
Tail boys	98	10.94	5	35	49	8	1	....	....	....	....
Machine room foremen	7	38.74	....	....	....	....	....	2	3	....	2
Spindle carvers	3	30.07	....	....	....	....	1	....	2	....	....
Total—cabinet room workers	119	20.84	3	6	12	35	25	25	10	3	....
Case fitters	23	26.70	....	....	....	....	10	8	4	1	....

Clamp operators	15	22.32	....	1	....	5	3	5	1	....	....
Frame builders	10	19.20	....	1	1	3	3	2	....	....	....
Drawer makers	7	17.64	....	....	1	5	1	....	....	....	....
Vanity makers	3	27.28	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
General cabinet room workers	18	21.36	....	1	1	6	5	3	2	....	....
Helpers—cabinet room	30	13.32	3	3	8	15	1	....	....	....	....
Chair drivers	13	26.88	....	....	1	1	2	4	3	2	....
Total — finishing room	132	17.83	1	12	47	32	15	13	7	4	1
Brush workers	19	16.30	....	....	8	8	2	1	....	....	....
Spray operators	36	23.13	....	1	6	7	9	4	6	2	1
Filler rubbers	36	17.03	1	3	15	9	1	4	1	2	....
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	32	13.82	....	8	14	5	2	3	....	....	....
General finishing room	9	17.27	....	....	4	3	1	1	....	....	....
Hand sanders	80	16.44	1	5	22	37	9	4	2	....	....
Yard workers	55	14.97	....	7	17	19	11	....	1	....	....
Craters and packers	58	17.78	1	1	13	31	5	4	2	1	....
Upfitters and glass setters	11	22.67	....	....	2	3	3	1	1	....	1
Rubbers	27	18.66	1	1	3	16	4	1	....	1	....
Mechanics	9	31.04	....	....	1	....	2	1	....	3	2
Firemen and night watchmen	8	22.14	....	....	....	1	6	1	....	....	....
Sweepers	14	14.50	....	3	6	2	3	....	....	....	....
Others	39	24.63	....	1	3	7	7	13	4	2	2
Totals for Tennessee	868	18.81	12	74	202	247	149	114	43	19	8

TABLE 40

AVERAGE ACTUAL AND CLASSIFIED ACTUAL EARNINGS PER PAY PERIOD, VIRGINIA—TWO-WEEK PERIOD

	Average number of wage earners	Average actual earnings per pay period	Under $10	$10 and under $15	$15 and under $20	$20 and under $25	$25 and under $30	$30 and under $35	$35 and under $40	$40 and under $45	$45 and under $50	$50 and under $55	$55 and under $60	$60 and under $65	$65 and under $70	$70 and over
Total—machine operators	411	$39.41	6	8	8	17	48	60	79	70	35	38	20	9	6	7
Cut off sawyers	25	46.00	....	....	1	2	2	....	3	5	2	2	3	3	1	1
Rip sawyers	23	37.93	1	....	....	1	1	9	2	3	1	3	2	....	....	....
Combination and variety sawyers	32	37.04	1	....	....	....	7	4	9	8	....	1	2	....	....	....
Band sawyers	25	45.76	....	1	....	....	2	2	2	4	6	2	2	1	2	1
Lathe operators	12	52.74	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	3	1	2	1	3	1	....
Shaper operators	27	43.09	....	2	1	....	1	3	3	4	5	4	2	1	....	1
Tenoner operators	16	40.59	....	1	1	1	2	....	3	2	....	4	1	....	....	1
Moulder operators	16	49.62	....	....	1	....	2	....	....	1	3	4	2	....	2	1
Sanding machine operators	122	36.45	3	1	3	6	15	18	32	25	9	8	2	....	....	....
Planer operators	17	38.07	....	....	1	1	2	3	1	5	2	1	....	1	....	....
Miscellaneous machine operators	71	38.19	1	2	....	2	7	15	19	10	5	5	3	....	....	2
General machine operators	25	31.95	....	1	....	4	7	6	4	....	1	2	....	....	....	....
Glue workers	138	32.11	3	4	5	12	35	30	27	12	6	2	2	....	....	....
Tail boys	259	20.89	23	24	60	79	50	20	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Machine room foremen	13	72.06	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	2	....	5	5
Spindle carvers	10	54.31	....	....	....	1	....	1	2	....	1	....	....	1	1	3
Total—cabinet room workers	256	36.13	6	3	10	17	36	36	59	36	26	18	6	3	....	....
Case fitters	83	41.07	2	1	3	1	5	4	23	14	12	9	6	3	....	....

Clamp operators	48	35.04	1	....	2	1	9	10	10	10	3	2	....	....	....	....
Frame builders	19	37.20	....	....	1	....	2	7	2	3	1	3	....	....	....	....
Drawer makers	19	32.93	2	....	....	....	3	3	7	3	1	....	....	....	....	....
Vanity makers	7	42.83	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	1	2	1	....	....	....	....
General cabinet room workers	43	37.67	....	1	2	1	2	8	14	5	7	3	....	....	....	....
Helpers—cabinet room	37	24.49	1	1	2	14	15	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total — finishing room	306	$32.41	4	8	12	36	68	65	49	34	20	4	5	1	....	....
Brush workers	77	33.13	1	1	1	6	15	23	14	11	5	....	....	....	....	....
Spray operators	60	40.15	....	....	1	2	1	13	15	11	9	4	4	....	....	....
Filler rubbers	83	30.94	....	2	1	8	30	21	12	7	2	....	....	....	....	....
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	58	23.29	3	4	8	20	17	4	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
General finishing room	28	37.11	....	1	1	....	5	4	7	4	4	....	1	1	....	....
Hand sanders	175	30.52	3	2	6	14	64	45	25	12	2	2	....	....	....	....
Yard workers	84	28.04	4	2	4	10	36	17	5	5	1	....	....	....	....	....
Craters and packers	170	30.74	5	3	4	18	41	58	19	19	2	1	....	....	....	....
Upfitters and glass setters	21	37.17	....	....	1	....	3	4	2	8	3	....	....	....	....	....
Rubbers	106	33.63	1	....	6	1	17	33	31	15	1	....	....	1	....	....
Mechanics	18	63.13	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	2	3	1	3	2	....	6
Firemen and night watchmen	16	50.50	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	2	8	2	2	....	....	1
Sweepers	9	25.82	....	....	2	....	6	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Others	73	$46.63	....	1	1	....	3	3	12	11	16	8	5	9	2	2
Totals for Virginia	2,065	33.67	55	55	119	205	407	373	315	227	124	76	45	26	14	24

TABLE 41

Average and Classified Earnings Per Hour—North Carolina

	Average number of wage earners	Average earnings per hour	10 and under 12 cents	12 and under 15 cents	15 and under 20 cents	20 and under 25 cents	25 and under 30 cents	30 and under 35 cents	35 and under 40 cents	40 and under 45 cents	45 and under 50 cents	50 and under 60 cents	60 and under 70 cents
Total—machine operators	397	$.385	....	....	1	13	46	79	67	80	46	55	10
Cut off sawyers	22	.407	....	....	....	....	2	5	2	7	1	4	1
Rip sawyers	19	.364	....	....	....	1	2	5	5	3	....	3	....
Combination and variety sawyers	10	.420	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	5	3	1	....
Band sawyers	26	.442	....	....	1	1	1	....	2	2	9	9	1
Lathe operators	21	.387	....	....	....	1	3	3	2	6	4	1	1
Shaper operators	34	.418	....	....	....	....	1	2	7	11	7	6	....
Tenoner operators	12	.444	....	....	....	1	....	1	....	3	1	6	....
Moulder operators	21	.449	....	....	....	1	2	....	....	4	6	7	1
Sanding machine operators	95	.353	....	....	....	3	14	29	20	18	5	5	1
Planer operators	17	.377	....	....	....	....	1	4	5	5	....	2	....
Miscellaneous machine operators	54	.371	....	....	....	3	8	14	10	9	4	1	5
General machine operators	66	.367	....	....	....	2	12	15	14	7	6	10	....
Glue workers	29	.324	....	....	....	4	4	12	2	3	4	....	....
Tail boys	178	.207	....	9	60	65	32	12	....	....	....	....	....
Machine room foremen	14	.673	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	9
Total—cabinet room workers	294	.384	3	....	8	20	20	29	45	55	70	41	3
Case fitters	97	.448	....	....	....	....	....	1	8	24	38	25	1
Clamp operators	25	.351	....	....	....	2	3	5	6	5	4	....	....

Frame builders	6	.401	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	2	1	1	....
Drawer makers	6	.305	....	....	....	....	3	2	....	1	....	....	....
Vanity makers	17	.422	....	....	....	....	....	1	4	3	7	2	....
General cabinet room workers	73	.412	....	....	....	1	5	7	15	16	16	11	2
Helpers—cabinet room	48	.231	3	....	5	17	8	10	5	....	....	....	....
Chair drivers	22	.369	....	....	3	....	....	3	6	4	4	2	....
Total — finishing room	313	.332	....	....	9	39	92	57	26	35	16	35	4
Brush workers	41	.352	....	....	....	....	6	14	8	9	2	2	....
Spray operators	69	.407	....	....	....	1	6	10	10	14	8	20	....
Filler rubbers	97	.275	....	....	1	18	49	19	4	4	1	1	....
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	64	.244	....	....	8	18	29	8	1	....	....	....	....
General finishing room	42	.452	....	....	....	2	2	6	3	8	5	12	4
Hand sanders	210	.288	....	19	18	13	39	57	36	22	4	2	....
Yard workers	89	.261	....	....	....	13	65	11	....	....	....	....	....
Craters and packers	134	.308	....	....	2	15	35	43	19	16	2	2	....
Upfitters and glass setters	23	.401	....	....	....	1	1	3	5	3	6	4	....
Rubbers	121	.365	....	....	1	5	11	32	18	30	22	2	....
Mechanics	44	.489	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	8	12	16	5
Firemen and night watchmen	27	.357	....	....	....	....	2	6	10	8	....	1	....
Sweepers	18	.248	....	....	1	4	11	2	....	....	....	....	....
Others	55	.425	....	....	....	....	3	4	15	12	12	5	4
Totals for North Carolina	1,946	.341	3	28	100	192	361	349	244	272	194	168	35

TABLE 42

AVERAGE AND CLASSIFIED EARNINGS PER HOUR—Tennessee

	Average number of wage earners	Average earnings per hour	10 and under 12 cents	12 and under 15 cents	15 and under 20 cents	20 and under 25 cents	25 and under 30 cents	30 and under 35 cents	35 and under 40 cents	40 and under 45 cents	45 and under 50 cents	50 and under 60 cents	60 and under 70 cents	Over 70 cents
Total—machine operators	178	$.368	....	....	....	5	34	40	27	19	13	35	4	1
Cut off sawyers	15	.385	....	....	....	....	1	5	1	4	1	3	....	....
Rip sawyers	14	.347	....	....	....	....	3	4	4	1	1	1	....	....
Combination and variety sawyers	9	.344	....	....	....	2	1	2	1	1	....	2	....	....
Band sawyers	14	.416	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	3	1	4	....	....
Lathe operators	7	.456	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	....	....	3	....	1
Shaper operators	13	.446	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	8	4	....
Tenoner operators	13	.374	....	....	....	....	3	3	1	1	2	3	....	....
Moulder operators	7	.449	....	....	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	5	....	....
Sanding machine operators	49	.324	....	....	....	2	17	12	9	4	3	2	....	....
Planer operators	7	.382	....	....	....	....	1	1	1	2	1	1	....	....
Miscellaneous machine operators	21	.362	....	....	....	1	4	6	1	3	3	3	....	....
General machine operators	9	.319	....	....	....	....	3	3	2	....	1	....	....	....
Glue workers	30	.338	....	....	....	2	5	7	3	9	3	1	....	....
Tail boys	98	.198	....	....	....	40	43	14	1	....	....	....	....	....
Machine room foremen	7	.528	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	3	2	....
Spindle carvers	3	.550	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	2	....
Total—cabinet room workers	119	.343	....	....	2	6	32	21	24	12	8	13	1	....
Case fitters	23	.417	....	....	....	....	1	3	5	2	6	6	....	....
Clamp operators	15	.378	....	....	....	....	1	2	8	1	1	2	....	....

Frame builders	10	.348	....	....	....	....	3	1	2	4	....	....	....	....
Drawer makers	7	.314	....	....	....	1	2	1	2	1	....	....	....	....
Vanity makers	3	.468	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	....
General cabinet room workers	18	.366	....	....	....	....	2	6	4	3	1	2	....	....
Helpers—cabinet room	30	.245	....	....	2	5	21	2	....	....	....	....	....	....
Chair drivers	13	.348	....	....	....	....	2	6	3	1	....	1	....	....
Total — finishing room	132	.278	....	....	16	27	32	30	13	8	3	3	....	....
Brush workers	19	.291	....	....	1	2	3	9	3	1	....	....	....	....
Spray operators	36	.346	....	....	....	1	7	11	6	5	3	3	....	....
Filler rubbers	36	.268	....	....	1	12	13	5	3	2	....	....	....	....
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	32	.199	....	....	14	11	6	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
General finishing room	9	.294	....	....	....	1	3	4	1	....	....	....	....	....
Hand sanders	80	.289	....	....	7	12	15	27	15	2	....	2	....	....
Yard workers	55	.275	....	....	....	2	35	15	2	1	....	....	....	....
Craters and packers	58	.293	....	....	....	3	19	29	4	3	....	....	....	....
Upfitters and glass setters	11	.353	....	....	....	....	4	1	2	3	....	1	....	....
Rubbers	27	.333	....	....	....	....	5	7	12	2	1	....	....	....
Mechanics	9	.519	....	....	....	....	....	1	2	....	1	1	4	....
Firemen and night watchmen	8	.331	....	....	....	....	1	3	3	1	....	....	....	....
Sweepers	14	.267	....	....	....	2	9	3	....	....	....	....	....	....
Others	39	.419	....	....	....	1	3	3	9	7	3	11	1	1
Totals for Tennessee	868	.315	....	....	25	100	237	201	117	67	35	70	14	2

TABLE 43

AVERAGE AND CLASSIFIED EARNINGS PER HOUR—Virginia

	Average number of wage earners	Average earnings per hour	10 and under 12 cents	12 and under 15 cents	15 and under 20 cents	20 and under 25 cents	25 and under 30 cents	30 and under 35 cents	35 and under 40 cents	40 and under 45 cents	45 and under 50 cents	50 and under 60 cents	60 and under 70 cents
Total—machine operators	411	$.344	....	....	....	17	82	110	91	63	22	22	4
Cut off sawyers	25	.395	....	....	....	1	1	6	6	4	....	6	1
Rip sawyers	23	.338	....	....	....	....	6	6	3	6	2	....	....
Combination and variety sawyers	32	.336	....	....	....	....	5	12	10	3	2	....	....
Band sawyers	25	.394	....	....	....	....	3	2	7	6	3	4	....
Lathe operators	12	.438	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	5	1	4	....
Shaper operators	27	.381	....	....	....	....	2	5	8	6	3	3	....
Tenoner operators	16	.400	....	....	....	....	....	2	7	2	3	1	1
Moulder operators	16	.414	....	....	....	1	1	....	3	6	2	1	2
Sanding machine operators	122	.317	....	....	....	7	29	46	27	10	2	1	....
Planer operators	17	.324	....	....	....	1	2	8	3	3	....	....	....
Miscellaneous machine operators	71	.329	....	....	....	3	20	18	15	11	3	1	....
General machine operators	25	.288	....	....	....	4	13	5	....	1	1	1	....
Glue workers	138	.276	....	....	4	26	56	36	10	5	....	1	....
Tail boys	259	.198	3	10	75	125	46	....	....	....	....	....	....
Machine room foremen	13	.525	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	3	5	4
Spindle carvers	10	.504	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	1	....	2	4
Total—cabinet room workers	256	.323	....	1	2	24	46	90	46	35	8	4	....
Case fitters	83	.373	....	....	....	1	2	30	15	27	5	3	....

Clamp operators	48	.322	....	....	....	....	14	18	11	4	1	....	....
Frame builders	19	.315	....	....	....	1	4	7	6	....	1	....	....
Drawer makers	19	.292	....	....	....	1	5	11	2	....	....	....	....
Vanity makers	7	.339	....	....	....	....	....	4	2	1	....	....	....
General cabinet room workers	43	.327	....	....	....	1	8	19	10	3	1	1	....
Helpers—cabinet room	37	.227	....	1	2	20	13	1	....	....	....	....	....
Total — finishing room	306	.295	....	....	11	40	98	69	64	16	8	....	....
Brush workers	77	.297	....	....	....	11	20	23	23	....	....	....	....
Spray operators	60	.358	....	....	....	....	7	12	25	10	6	....	....
Filler rubbers	83	.289	....	....	....	6	41	23	9	4	....	....	....
Tail boys and helpers finishing room	58	.225	....	....	11	20	25	2	....	....	....	....	....
General finishing room	28	.319	....	....	....	3	5	9	7	2	2	....	....
Hand sanders	175	.281	....	....	1	20	99	31	22	1	....	1	....
Yard workers	84	.263	....	....	1	11	58	9	3	1	....	1	....
Craters and packers	170	.280	....	....	1	22	80	59	6	2	....	....	....
Upfitters and glass setters	21	.326	....	....	1	....	3	8	6	3	....	....	....
Rubbers	106	.295	....	....	1	8	39	44	11	2	....	1	....
Mechanics	18	.473	....	....	....	....	....	1	4	3	2	3	5
Firemen and night watchmen	16	.345	....	....	....	....	1	4	9	1	1	....	....
Sweepers	9	.255	....	....	....	2	6	1	....	....	....	....	....
Others	73	.388	....	....	....	....	5	13	20	19	8	6	2
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